

**University of Cape Town
Department of Religious Studies**

Identity and Worldview Issues in Rural Development

A Case Study :

**Reintegration of Ex-street Children into Communities in
Rural Transkei**

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the complex problem of socio-cultural change and continuity in Africa; the basic human drives for physical survival and identity; and how the danger of self-alienation and anomie might be overcome.

Worldview Analysis and Human Scale Development are brought together and focused on a particular context of socio-economic development in a situation of competing worldviews in rural Transkei. People in rural Transkei experience competing worldviews and values out of a dual quest for economic advancement in an increasingly industrialized society, on the one hand, and the maintenance of identity, on the other. The prioritizing of economic development is seen to contradict the value of an African cultural identity. In the absence of a mediating symbolic network to facilitate the renegotiation of identity, these values remain in tension.

In **PART ONE** I discuss the problem in the context of the necessity for economic growth and Human Scale Development in a democratic South Africa. My general research hypothesis is founded on this discussion. It states that "Social and economic development, in a situation of competing worldviews, depends on the mediation of conflicting symbols in a manner which is not inconsistent with the economic imperatives."

In **PART TWO** this macro-study is scaled down to an empirically testable, research project. The hypothesis of the micro-study reads as follows: "Integrated identity and belonging for ex-street children, in a situation of competing worldviews, depends on the mediation of conflicting paradigmatic symbols." Both hypotheses are informed by theories of religion, identity and development drawing on the works of Max-Neef

and Cumpsty. The situation of competing worldviews experienced by a group of ex-street children is described. I then show that social development in this context is impeded by the lack of mediation between conflicting paradigmatic elements and values. Thereafter, much attention is given to the difficult task of designing tools to map identity and values of individuals, locating critical points of tension between conflicting values and, finding mediating symbols. Finally, I examine a range of corporate strategies that demonstrate ways of mediating between the conflicting paradigmatic symbols.

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INTRODUCTION

Vulisango moved, in 1988, from being in a rural African village for the first 17 years of his life into a Western orientated institutional environment which contradicts his African traditional background at every turn. He has struggled with the desire to progress (materially) in an increasingly industrialized society whilst not wanting to do so at the expense of his identity as an African. This has created, over a short period of three years, a situation where he draws on competing value systems which has a fragmentary effect on his identity.¹

This human predicament is not uncommon amongst indigenous people who form the target groups of development programmes in rural Transkei². Furthermore, there is reason to believe that this disempowering situation is an Africa-wide phenomenon (see Tessler et al, 1973).

The crucial role identity plays in development is sometimes underestimated. Wilson and Ramphele (1989:268) articulate one level on which identity is related to development. They draw attention to the significance of identity in uprooting poverty in South Africa by saying that "[l]iberation movements have ... to recognize the critical importance of re-rooting people in order to provide them with a **sense of identity** and dignity, which in turn **releases their social energies**." (my emphasis).

While Wilson and Ramphele (ibid) elevate the role of identity in development, they do not reflect the complexities involved in achieving this in an African context. The prioritizing of economic development in social engineering tends to contradict the value of an African cultural identity.

In this study I pay attention to the problem as to how the contradiction between socio-personal development and economic development in a situation of competing worldviews can be overcome in the interests of the poorest of the poor in South Africa.

¹. Compiled from staff reports and interviews with the youth who resided at CHRIOTRA, a Children's Home in the Transkei, between 1989-1991.

². During the past seven years I have been associated with a number of development agencies in rural Transkei. In particular, I have worked with various groups of marginalised youth.

I, furthermore, consider strategies which may serve as pointers in overcoming the problem.

The research question stated in the form of a hypothesis reads as follows:

Social and economic development, in a situation of competing worldviews, depends on the mediation of conflicting symbols (socio-cultural imperatives) in a manner which is not inconsistent with the economic imperatives.

In order to translate this into a researchable, i.e measurable and empirically testable, project the following has to be considered. First, one has to find a situation of competing worldviews with which the researcher is sufficiently familiar. Then, prove that social development in this context is impeded by the lack of mediation between the conflicting paradigmatic elements and values. Finally, provide evidence of social development where the contradicting value systems have been meaningfully bridged/mediated.

A suitable micro-study and research focus is the socio-psychological preparation of ex-street children, in a Transkei children's home, for reintegration into the wider society. The research problem stated as an hypothesis reads as follows:

Integrated identity and belonging for ex-street children, in a situation of competing worldviews, depends on the mediation of conflicting paradigmatic symbols.

This micro-study is appropriate as it brings together in a single micro-situation the variables which reflect a macro-situation.

The ability for these youths to experience socio-personal transformation and to be empowered to fulfill their basic needs in the wider society is partly subject to their

ability to develop an integrated identity which draws on a mediating paradigm or worldview. The actual paradigmatic symbols and values they have been exposed to in the rural village, the urban streets of Umtata and a Christian Children's Home are in many ways poles apart and are themselves composite and shifting traditions. To understand the basic coherent paradigms or worldviews, the processes of interrelations and the nature of their coexistence in relation to identity and a sense of belonging enables one to map the youths' worldviews and identity and project their movements.

This study brings to the fore issues of directional and non-directional intervention, the delicate balance between imparting the **ideal** values of the intervening community and the preparation of youths for participating fully in a future **real** community; between overcoming anomie by facilitating the integration of identity, and potentially establishing alienation.

The reintegration programme for ex-street children serves, at this stage, as a pilot study for designing tools to measure the situation of competing worldviews and identity which will in turn inform the types of questions one begins to ask about the broader problem. The broader problem and hypothesis will form the basis of a future research project. This study is, therefore, confined to coming to grips with the problem - drawing on theory to understand and unpack the problem in its logical sub-components and separating out the variables - designing a questionnaire and piloting the questionnaire in the field. It will not enter into the broader study.

The project unfolds as follows:

In **Part One** I locate the problem in the broad context of poverty, economic development and African identity in South Africa (Section 1), introduce a more human centred understanding of development (Section 2), and clarify some complexities which arise out of the attempt to implement social and economic development (Section 3).

Part Two focuses on the micro-study.

Section 4 involves description and problematisation. Section 4.1 is devoted to descriptive background information on the three socio-cultural environments: The Children's Home, The Street, and the Rural Home. Special attention is given to the youth's experience of rapid socio-cultural change and the context in which he experiences competing values and worldviews.

In Section 4.2 some of the problems that arise out of this situation are considered.

Section 5 is theoretical. I draw on Cumpsty's theory of Religion as Belonging to provide a theoretical understanding of the relationship between identity, worldview and socio-cultural experience and the need for a mediation which will facilitate the formation of an integrated identity in a situation of competing worldviews. Before I can consider mediation I must begin, at least, a process of socio-psychological and worldview mapping.

In Sections 6,7,8 I begin to articulate ways of mapping people's worldviews. This is the most difficult part. One of the dangers is that of reductionism. But in order to be able to identify mediating symbols the competing symbols must be located. I, therefore, develop tools to map individuals' (and communities') worldviews. The questionnaire forms part of this process.

Finally, in the 9th and last section, I consider a range of strategies adopted by people in rural Transkei in their quest for an integrated identity in the face of competing worldviews and socio-cultural change.

PART ONE

**DEVELOPMENT IN A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA :
PEOPLE'S EXPECTATIONS, PROBABLE STATE STRATEGIES AND
PROBLEMS**

1. The Problem in a Broad Context.

Development from the point of view of the pragmatic planner.

Development at a macro-level is a planned attempt involving an interrelated set of socio-economic and political decisions, taken presumably by national government to achieve sustained improvement in the living conditions of the masses of the population. In South Africa a future representative government is expected to implement and sustain a multiple strategy to attack poverty.

Locating poverty in South Africa.

Wilson and Ramphela (1989) in their book, Uprooting Poverty present one of the most coherent and holistic analyses of the nature and causes of poverty in South Africa, to date. They draw on hundreds of conference, and post-conference papers which were stimulated by the **Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa** and the resultant conference held in 1984. These papers deal with a wide spectrum of poverty related topics depicting the political and socio-economic crisis facing South(ern) Africa. In orientation they traverse a multiple of academic disciplines and incorporate experiences from a host of practitioners.

Using the geographical distribution of African population based on the 1980 census and the mean annual income for these same geographical categories Wilson and Ramphela (1989:23, 24) show that the highest concentration of the poorest of the poor are located in the reserves. This can be expressed more specifically using statistical data. The proportion of the total population (including the reserves) living below subsistence (measured as the urban minimum living level) in 1980 was estimated to be 50%. For blacks throughout the country the proportion was estimated to be nearly

2/3rds (60-65%). Of those living in the reserves no less than 81% of the households were in dire poverty. Statistically in terms of the total African population 46.6% live in rural reserves.

This would give anyone the impression that South Africa is typically a Third World Developing country³, however, this is not an accurate reflection of the situation. One can go so far as to say that there are those who would be even shocked to hear South Africa being referred to as a developing country. Is South Africa to be considered developed⁴ or developing? These classifications are misleading as neither provides one with a clear picture of the social structure of the country.

South Africa: a developed metropolis and underdeveloped rural reserves

It would be inaccurate to describe South Africa as an advanced and industrialized society but nor would it be accurate to refer to South Africa as a developing country. Progressives argue that both co-exist in a relationship of dependency. Within the geographical boundaries of South Africa an economic centre (developed cities, mines and farms) and an economic periphery (reserves⁵, sometimes called "Bantustans" or "homelands" and in some cases upgraded to "self-governing Black National States")⁶ are found.

³. The two broad schools of Societal Development, the Bourgeois Liberal Tradition and the Marxist Tradition, both use the term "developing countries" to refer to poor countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa which share a common development experience. After two decades of development these countries still rely on agriculture and are poorer than they were before. The other term used to describe this category of countries is "Third World".

⁴. Developed regions or countries are characterised as being technologically advanced and industrialized with a high degree of functional specialization and structural differentiation.

⁵. South Africa can be divided broadly into three parts: the metropolitan areas of the major cities; the platteland comprising the towns and the white-owned commercial farms plus the smaller villages (or "dorpiess") of the countryside; and the reserves (sometimes called "homelands" or "Bantustans" or even "Black National States"). The reserves were originally set aside in terms of the 1913 and 1936 Natives Land Act for the "settlement" of Africans. These hundreds of scattered fragments make up 13,7 % of South Africa land space. They form the 10 so-called black states which are the outcome of the government's policy on Africans.

⁶. The centre/periphery analysis of South Africa's social structure draws on the neo-Marxian Dependency Theory found initially in the work of A.G Frank.

Vorster (in 1983:83) applies what might be called a centre-periphery analysis to Southern Africa. I draw on this as it provides a helpful insight into the manner in which South Africa is simultaneously developed and developing. I, however, confine the discussion to South Africa.

The centre, mentioned above, refers to the South African metropolitan areas. Heavy industry is concentrated in the centre. Here too, concentrated forms of consumerism are to be found. Encircling these centres are the primary production areas, specializing in the supply of food, minerals and other raw materials for local consumption and export. Whites control most activities and own most of the property here, in much the same way as at the centre. Then there is a third division which is made up of the areas supplying the necessary labour for the other two. In these peripheral areas subsistence farming is practiced, but the local population subsist mainly on income derived from wages earned in the first two divisions. The reserves comprise these areas.

Development for many (particularly the younger generation) of those living in poverty in the reserves means having the opportunity to enjoy the material provisions that are offered to those in "modern", "white" South Africa.

The rural poor "window-shop" in "modern", "white" South Africa.

The active concern with development seems to be, in part at least, motivated by the economic and technical advancement of Western "modern" societies, reflected in "white" South Africa. This is demonstrated in the wide range of material provisions which include electrification, transportation, housing adequate health facilities and medical aid resulting in higher life expectancies and low infant mortality rates, education and cultural facilities and the income which will permit access to a wide range of consumer goods over and above minimal necessities. These are some of the many indicators of material standards of living which for "developing" communities and societies contrast sharply with the poverty, the disease, the malnutrition and

undernourishment, the high infant mortality rates and the low life expectancies, overcrowding, illiteracy and physical insecurity, experienced daily.

The work of rural development practitioners caught up in cultural planning, subsistence agriculture and providing for minimum basic needs through appropriate technology and intermediate technology is often seen as the promotion of what is second best or second rate. People from these rural areas feel frustrated as this is seen to perpetuate the situation of inequality with the advanced society that whites enjoy. Some argue that this does not address the real issues that concern eking out a living within the constraints of apartheid society and that development programmes do not reflect a real interest in the transformation of rural society and rural life. People remain unconvinced by what is sometimes termed a "small is beautiful" approach to development for they have laboured to make a technologically advanced and economically modern, white South Africa which they are prevented from enjoying.

The expectations of the poor.

The expectations of the poor are that a new democratic government will address these inequalities (see FitzGerald, unpublished:3). The process of dismantling the structures of apartheid is a necessary step in state strategies against poverty, but this is not sufficient. One of the major challenges facing a new government will be the policies that will have to be developed to overcome the enduring consequences of three centuries of racist laws and racial capitalism in which the roots of South African poverty lie⁷. I will not discuss the role of the state here but, clearly, the state will have to play some kind of interventionist role in development in order to reshape the historical bias and extreme inequality that exists in South African political economy which flows from the way the state has been used to appropriate assets (in particular

⁷. All levels of activity of these peripheral reserves are subject to the conditioning effect of the policy of the National party and also the demands of the South African economy (Nattrass, 1981). The political and economic system has in a very specific way contributed to this ongoing process of impoverishment in South Africa. This legacy of the past and distant past not only includes apartheid as it evolved after 1948 but also the pattern of racial capitalism that grew during the centuries before that.

land) or to invest resources (e.g education and loans to farmers) primarily for the benefit of whites.

Economic Development - the aim of representative government

National liberation leaders in the ANC/COSATU/SACP, PAC and AZAPO are also acutely aware of the contrast between the have's and the majority of the black have not's. The move towards a radical shift of the present political power structure away from racial oligarchy to a genuine democracy has resulted in liberation organisations such as those in the ANC/COSATU/SACP alliance proposing strategies aimed at addressing the problem of poverty. It is no surprise then, that in a definition of development goals the marked improvement of the material standards of living of the underclasses is considered primary. Progressive teachers, development planners, agricultural experts, and political organizers, from urban areas, are already being encouraged to integrate the periphery into the main economic and psychological circuits of the nation.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) recently (October, 1991) "proposed four points on which national economic reconstruction could be based. The first step would be to examine the macro policy path the government should take. 'We have got to determine the most effective growth path in the development of South Africa', Naidoo said. Industrial reconstruction would be the next priority. A primary concern would be transforming collective bargaining forums to help in 'job creation', economic growth and making us (South Africa) more competitive." (City Press, October 1991)

I wish to highlight two points which come through strongly here.

The first is that in this ideology development involves planning, the deliberate engineering of processes affecting the internal societal dynamics. The second, is the concern with economic growth. It is obvious that to improve in the medium and long

term, the material standards of living cannot rely on a redistribution of national wealth without a continued expansion of the productive capacity of society.

Hoogvelt (1978:150) notes that "[b]oth an expansion of the productive capacity of the society and the improvement in material standards of living are the twin goals in any development model.

This theme underpinned and informed much discussion during the Cape Colloquium on "Growth and Redistribution" organised by the Association of Democratic Economists and the University of the Western Cape's Institute for Social Development held from 2nd-4th November 1990. Represented at the colloquium were trade unions, academic institutions, business, the department of Finance, and the ANC. Noteworthy was the general consensus on the need for a vibrant and growing economy and the agreement on the need for restructuring to redress the injustices of the past.

Whatever else development is, it must stand for the inducement of economic development. But at the same time the development agents, be they national leaders, policy-makers, grass-roots activists or academic researchers, seem to increasingly recognise that to achieve this goal the entire socio-cultural framework in which the economy is embedded will have to be subjected to the paramountcy of economic development.

This is somewhat problematic, however.

Is prioritizing economic development and retaining a cultural identity possible?

The history of developing countries such as Tanzania and Zambia reveal that the developing elites in these countries have been reluctant to duplicate the Western socio-political and cultural characteristics which in the West have given structural durability to the forms of economic and technological sophistication. For good reason, they argue. "Whilst eager to imitate the outcome of the evolutionary process [the First

World countries have followed], that is high economic and technological adaptability, they hesitate to replicate the evolutionary steps leading to this outcome, first for fear of losing identity, and secondly for fear of committing themselves to what, to them, often appears as inhuman values associated with the development of the First World."(Hoogvelt, 1978:150)

According to Appell (1988: 272f) "[o]ne purpose of development is to increase the productivity of a society. To achieve this, ecosystems are modified, agricultural systems and work regimes are changed, new knowledge is introduced, and old ways are discouraged. Development often entails, therefore, destruction of the indigenous system of knowledge, the indigenous structure of articulation to an ecosystem, and the biological mechanisms used to adapt to an environment." Development planning tends to, according to Appell (ibid), explicitly devalue the indigenous culture and the members of the society targeted for development.

Strumpel (in Himmelweit & Gaskell, 1990:197) confirms this. He points out: "According to ... diverse thinkers as Karl Marx, Max Weber, Karl Polanyi, Jurgen Habermas - the commercial rationality of centralized, monetarized economy based on the division of labor penetrates the institutions and physical and social environment and tends to dominate traditional social structures, values, and worldviews; in short it exerts supremacy over people's daily experience." (ibid).

Appell (in 1988:274) refers to a number of examples to verify his observation. I will cite three here.

"In Borneo, for example, calisthenics displace traditional sports such as leg wrestling and spear throwing. No activity can be introduced without displacing a former one, and the former ones have their place; in this instance they provide a social identity and self-esteem. Making school children learn new activities may add to the self-esteem of the teacher's society, but it may also reduce that of the pupils society."

The second example involves

"...the growing articulation of rural agricultural societies to the world market system. This is often encouraged in development without full consideration of the consequences. Once the populations in these societies become dependent on cash crops and exchange within the world economic system, they lose their previous methods of adaption to their local ecosystems. The result is a society that is less adaptable and more dependent than before."(ibid.:275)

The third, is another example of the displacement of indigenous activities without adequate consideration of the costs. This entails the indigenous methods of banking agricultural surpluses.

"Many of the societies of Borneo, for example, traditionally convert agricultural surpluses into brassware and ceramics. When a family has a poor agricultural year, this surplus can be reconverted into food stuffs. With modernization and development, however, this indigenous system of banking breaks down. As cash crops become more prevalent as shops become more common in rural areas, the cash received from agricultural activities tends to be exchanged for perishables rather than durables. Surplus cash is used to buy candy, alcohol, soft drinks, clothing, and so forth and is thus drained off to outside markets. Consequently, when a bad harvest or some other misfortune (e.g the illness of the head of the household) occurs, there is no 'bank' to fall back upon. In none of the modernization schemes and resettlement schemes with which I am acquainted have I found any attempt to find a replacement for this indigenous system of banking, after it has disappeared". (ibid:275)

This raises a number of important questions. Does the act of development necessarily involve an act of destruction? Does the introduction of new activity always displace an indigenous activity? Does each act of social change need to be psychologically stressful and cause behavioural impairment in the subject population?⁸

One long-term effect of development and modernization, according to Appell (ibid), is that village societies are made more dependent on external values and forces and, hence, more vulnerable to factors beyond their control.

Max-Neef et al (1989) also note the economic, financial, technological, and cultural relationships of dependence of Third World countries on industrial nations. The patterns of consumption, exported by affluent countries and encouraged by economic power groups within Third World developing countries, subject the latter to

⁸. "The breakdown in traditions and customary ways of life and the social disorganisation and changes in the life of society profoundly challenge and threaten people's assumptions about the world. Without beliefs that help make sense of the world and guide one's relations to it, life is filled with uncertainty and anxiety" (Staub 1990:233).

relationships of exchange which make dependence more acute, perpetuate their local internal imbalances, and **threaten their cultural identities** (ibid. 47).

There is, it would appear, a contradiction between the requirements of economic development and the desiderata of human values.

Developing elites that seek to achieve economic growth and retain cultural identity sit with a problem. If economic development is to be a society's **first priority** then, in Hoogvelt's (1978:151)⁹ words, "[w]e must recognise the validity of the functionalist modernization theories which to my mind have conclusively shown that the organisation of economic life in any society is embedded in the wider context of the organisation of social life, and that, therefore, the transformation of the organisation of economic life has consequences for the entire social fabric." Where economic institutions are to be a definitive feature of social order the highest value governing social life will have to be economic rationality¹⁰ which means the desire to maximize benefits over costs. The logical conclusion is that where traditional social, cultural and political institutions do not functionally fit the desired economic imperatives they must be viewed as obstacles to development. For example, respecting traditional institutions of loyalty to family and extended family whilst trying to pursue productive activities becomes problematic as it requires tampering with the principle of economic rationality which requires getting the right person for the right job.

It would appear that the retaining of traditional cultural values and social institutions implies a "cost" in terms of economic growth. And the prioritizing of economic rationality means society must forfeit human values. Progressive activists and analysts point out that the latter is reflected in the history of the South African political economy, albeit in a rather complex form. Economic growth and industrialization has,

⁹. The weight that this statement carries is particularly significant as Ankie Hoogvelt is a leading **Neo-Marxian Sociologist** specializing in societal development and the Third World in Global Development.

¹⁰. If one objects to the exclusive application of the term "rational" for modern people's orientation of action, perhaps a better way of phrasing it would be to say that modern people's orientation is utility rational rather than value rational. When I use the term rational below I mean **utility rational**.

in part at least, come about as a result of the inhuman apartheid system. The principle of economic rationality and racism resulted in Africans being treated as mere instrumental objects.

How does one begin to develop strategies which overcome this dilemma?

One place to start is at a conceptual level, by redefining development, to locate an understanding of development which incorporates both elements and is able to combine the objectives of economic growth, social justice, and personal development.

2. Human Scale Development.

At the NGO's¹¹ in Development Conference held at the University of Stellenbosch in October 1991 the core terminology, "buzz-words", and "catch-phrases" used in the conference give one a good indication of the contemporary meaning of social development in South Africa, at least among NGO's¹². Some of the popularly used are: "human development", "development is for people", "empowering the powerless", "elimination of extreme poverty, helplessness, vulnerability, dependence and powerlessness of the poorest", "social learning through participation, "social transformation", "planned social change", "community level participation", "democratisation". Policies and strategies directed primarily at the control of natural settings, technological considerations, economic structures and demographic conditions are being said to be rethought to take full cognisance of concomitant values, customs, social structures and political participation of the target grouping.

A more systematic presentation of this human orientated approach to development is now considered.

A team of researchers drawn from Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, Colombia, Mexico, Brazil, Canada and Sweden in association with the Development Alternatives Centre in Chile and the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation have generated an understanding of development they refer to as "Human Scale Development". This work is really an extension of the Dag Hammarskjold Report of 1975 in which, Hoogvelt (1982:99) notes in a brief comment, the concept "basic needs" was first coined. Max-Neef et al (1989:5-80) point out that this alternative development praxis: Human Scale Development, is "focused and based on the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, on the generation of growing levels of self-reliance, and on the construction of organic

¹¹. NGO is the acronym for Non-governmental Organisations.

¹². The translation of popular rhetoric into practical reality is not always carried through. This is partly due to the fact that "...there is little experience in South Africa of effective community self organisation around development goals" (FitzGerald, 1991:3). One major reason relates to the repressive state policies under white rule.

articulations¹³ of people with nature and technology, of global processes with local activity, of personal with the social, of planning with autonomy, and of civil society with the state." It aims to combine the objectives of economic growth, social justice, personal development and freedom in such a way that both collective and individual satisfaction of the different fundamental human needs can be achieved.

Development aimed at human needs, self-reliance and organic articulations assumes a direct and participatory democracy where people are subjects and not objects. (This is not merely a reference to political democracy but a social democracy which permeates the composition of the social fabric) As well as an economic rationale which does not ascribe to indiscriminate accumulation or to "the mere improvement of conventional economic indicators irrelevant to the well-being of people" (ibid.:54) or principles of productive efficiency dislocated from the satisfaction of human needs (ibid).

They recognise the existence of internal forces such as powerful economic interest groups and external forces such as imperialist policies imposed by the First World multi-nationals and their host countries which prevent the democracy of day-to-day living being realised and therefore the state's role is not minimized in creating an environment which makes this possible.

Development orientated towards the satisfaction of fundamental human needs cannot, by definition, be structured from the top downwards. People, rather than being the objects of development, must take a leading role in development. This does not, however, ignore the role of the state but it defines the role of the state as a macro-agent which encourages creative ways in which people can participate in satisfying their needs in a way that contributes to the simultaneous satisfaction of other needs. Social planners and designers of policies of development cannot limit the social context of human needs by relating needs to goods and services for there are also social practices,

¹³. By "articulation" Max-Neef et al (1989) mean the "construction of coherent and consistent relations of balanced interdependence among given elements".

forms of organisation, political modes, and values which contribute to the way needs are experienced.

Development is measured less in terms of quantitative growth indicators and more with respect to quality of life. The quality of life depends on the possibilities people have to adequately satisfy their fundamental human needs.

But what are these human needs?

Max-Neef et al (ibid) argue, that contrary to the traditional view that human needs are infinite human needs are finite, few and classifiable¹⁴. The reason why needs have been presented as infinite is because existing literature on human needs does not differentiate between needs and satisfiers. "Fundamental human needs ... are the same in all cultures and in all historical periods. What changes, both over time and through cultures, is the way or the means by which the needs are satisfied." (ibid:20). Max-Neef et al (ibid) see human needs as individual and collective as well as inter-related and interactive. They recognise that there are many ways in which needs may be classified. They choose for the purposes of development a "...multidimensional taxonomy which establishes a clear-cut difference between needs and satisfiers...". Max-Neef et al (ibid.: 20) organise human needs into two categories: existential and axiological which they combine and display in a matrix (see table below). This enables one to appreciate the interaction between **Existential needs**: Being, Having, Doing, and Interacting, and **Axiological needs**: Subsistence, Protection, Affection, Understanding, Participation, Idleness, Creation, Identity and Freedom. I will not discuss this in any detail. It is necessary, however, to see that subsistence and identity (needs that I pay particular attention to) are two basic human needs¹⁵ in an interdependent relationship with the other needs.

¹⁴. An alternative view differentiates between basic human drives which are finite, and felt needs which are culturally and class dependent, and satisfiers.

¹⁵. Cumpsty (1991) observes that "Human beings appear to have two basic drives. The one is for physical survival, not just the fight against death, but including also the quest for space and material resources

Table Matrix of needs and satisfiers* (Max-Neef et al : ibid)

Needs according to existential categories Needs according to axiological categories	Being	Having	Doing	Interacting
Subsistence	1/ Physical health, mental health, equilibrium, sense of humour, adaptability	2/ Food, shelter, work	3/ Feed, procreate, rest, work	4/ Living environment, social setting
Protection	5/ Care, adaptability, autonomy, equilibrium, solidarity	6/ Insurance systems, savings, social security, health systems, rights, family, work	7/ Cooperate, prevent, plan, take care of, cure, help	8/ Living space, social environment, dwelling
Affection	9/ Self-esteem, solidarity, respect, tolerance, generosity, receptiveness, passion, determination, sensuality, sense of humour	10/ Friendships, family, partnerships, relationships with nature	11/ Make love, caress, express emotions, share, take care of, cultivate, appreciate	12/ Privacy, intimacy, home, spaces of togetherness
Understanding	13/ Critical conscience, receptiveness, curiosity, astonishment, discipline, intuition, rationality	14/ Literature, teachers, method, educational policies, communication policies	15/ Investigate, study, experiment, educate, analyse, meditate	16/ Settings of formative interaction, schools, universities, academies, groups, communities, family
Participation	17/ Adaptability, receptiveness, solidarity, willingness, determination, dedication, respect, passion, sense of humour	18/ Rights, responsibilities, duties, privileges, work	19/ Become affiliated, cooperate, propose, share, dissent, obey, interact, agree on, express opinions	20/ Settings of participative interaction, parties, associations, churches, communities, neighbourhoods, family
Idleness	21/ Curiosity, receptiveness, imagination, recklessness, sense of humour, tranquility, sensuality	22/ Games, spectacles, clubs, parties, peace of mind	23/ Day-dream, brood, dream, recall old times, give way to fantasies, remember, relax, have fun, play	24/ Privacy, intimacy, spaces of closeness, free time, surroundings, landscapes
Creation	25/ Passion, determination, intuition, imagination, boldness, rationality, autonomy, inventiveness, curiosity	26/ Abilities, skills, method, work	27/ Work, invent, build, design, compose, interpret	28/ Productive and feedback settings, workshops, cultural groups, audiences, spaces for expression, temporal freedom
Identity	29/ Sense of belonging, consistency, differentiation, self-esteem, assertiveness	30/ Symbols, language, religion, habits, customs, reference groups, sexuality, values, norms, historical memory, work	31/ Commit oneself, integrate oneself, confront, decide on, get to know oneself, recognize oneself, actualize oneself, grow	32/ Social rhythms, everyday settings, settings which one belongs to, maturation stages
Freedom	33/ Autonomy, self-esteem, determination, passion, assertiveness, open-mindedness, boldness, rebelliousness, tolerance	34/ Equal rights	35/ Dissent, choose, be different from, run risks, develop awareness, commit oneself, disobey	36/ Temporal/spatial plasticity

* The column of BEING registers *attributes*, personal or collective, that are expressed as nouns. The column of HAVING registers *institutions, norms, mechanisms, tools* (not in a material sense), *laws*, etc. that can be expressed in one or more words. The column of DOING registers *actions*, personal or collective, that can be expressed as verbs. The column of INTERACTING registers *locations and milieus* (as times and spaces). It stands for the Spanish *ESTAR* or the German *BEFINDEN*, in the sense of time and space. Since there is no corresponding word in English, INTERACTING was chosen 'à fait de mieux'.

necessary for the realization of physical potential. The other is for the development and maintenance of identity."

The satisfiers are culturally determined but this is no guarantee that they always improve the quality of life. Max-Neef et al (ibid:32) point out that pseudo-satisfiers do not in the longer term meet human needs. For example, over-exploitation of natural resources as a satisfier is supposedly satisfying the need for subsistence but probably has more to do with a warped need for identity. It is therefore provides a false sense of satisfaction of a given need. Chauvinistic nationalism in a similar fashion is supposed to satisfy the need for identity but in the longer term this may even annul the possibility of satisfying the need it was originally targeted to fulfill.

Max-Neef et al acknowledge in Human Scale Development that economic growth is necessary to ensure a sustained intensive programme of development which will address problems of unemployment, illiteracy, high infant mortality, malnutrition amongst the poor. They are also persuaded, however, that economic development cannot be done in isolation and at the expense of other human needs. One of these needs is the maintainance of integrated identity.

Human Scale Development is helpful in identifying the interrelatedness between economic growth and socio-personal development. It does not, however, go beyond articulating needs, such as identity and subsistence, to struggling with the complexities related to actually implementing strategies which will ensure economic growth and the maintenance of a sense of identity and belonging in a changing socio-cultural order.

3. Clarifying Some Complexities.

Can adopting the advantages of modern society such as living in electrified housing, listening to radios, sending children to schools, having access to advanced medical care etc. be done in an African indigenous idiom?

How can economic growth be sustained in South Africa without imitating Western socio-cultural features which in the West have given structural durability to the forms of economic and technological sophistication but which have not improved the quality of life according to the Human Scale Development indicator?

How can economic development be sought with its consequential re-orientation of the entire social fabric according to the dictates of economic rationality whilst an indigenous culture and identity is retained?

These are crucial questions, for the history of the diffusion of Western cultural and structural forms in Africa has brought in its wake a trail of problems arising out of the conflict between Western values and traditional social and cultural patterns. Hoogvelt (1978), Bengu (1975), Erny (1973) document what they argue are manifestations of the conflict in modes of organising and integrating the functions of society where these two paradigms prevail in an African context. These include social and personal disorganisation, high rates of violence and crime (at least as a contributing factor), increased incidence of witchcraft, religious fanaticism and extremism, corruption and political instability.

The coexistence¹⁶ today of Western and Traditional African orientations of action within the same society, community, and even within the same individual is not uncommon.

¹⁶ I use this term as it is meant to convey the unintegrated or un-mediated manner in which the two fundamentally conflicting orientations of action, namely, Western values and Traditional African values (see below), make up, in some instances, an individual's symbolized reality. This is a kind of schizophrenic sense of symbolized reality and consequently the individual's identity is fragmented.

For those whose traditional cognitions and beliefs are marginalised the coexistence of these competing paradigms may not be felt as conflicting or anxiety provoking. The conflict which arises as a result of social change is, probably for many people, unconscious and possibly irrelevant, until they experience difficulties over their desires for what often turns out to be conflicting things. At the end of the day people make choices, because they have to. For example, they have to decide whether to move to the city for good and cut ties with the rural homestead or to maintain some long-term interest in the rural area from which they came. But where this sense of competing worldviews occurs in the life of a community or individual there is a tendency towards anomie; to turbulent insecurity about norms and values, which, at a peak, gives way to moral and emotional tensions which are manifest in the psychological and social defense mechanisms people use to deal with their predicament.

This situation is particularly evident in rural Transkei where the sense of competing worldviews is strong amongst people who experience rapid socio-cultural transformation. When social change is great enough then the past fails to inform the future and must either be rejected or reinterpreted. When an individual becomes aware that a considerable cultural distance exists between various internalized elements of culture, the possibility of an identity crisis arises (Bengu, 1975:xxii). Overcoming the crisis involves mediation between the conflicting symbolic elements in a manner which provides a coherent unified response to the mirror questions "Who are we?" and "What is all that out there?" .

An appropriate hypothesis, which arises out of this discussion, states that **social and economic development, in a situation of competing worldviews, depends on the mediation of conflicting paradigmatic symbols in a manner which is not inconsistent with the economic imperatives.**

I now summarise the central points made in Part One.

1. Development is a strategic, planned response to a human problem of poverty.
2. South Africa is simultaneously developed and developing. Many people of poverty stricken rural reserves understand development in a democratic South Africa to mean state intervention in the economy to facilitate their having the opportunity and means to enjoy the advantages of modern society they have helped create. This puts immense pressure, be it unrealistic in the short term, on a future democratic government to introduce radical social change which will enable the developing periphery to "catch-up" with the developed centre.
3. The recognition by liberation organisations that rapid economic growth is required for development introduces a contradiction. The contradiction is between the principle of economic rationality in economic development (which requires the reorientation of socio-cultural institutions, values and norms) and the human need for identity in social development. An African identity rooted in an African Traditional paradigm is not primarily orientated along the lines of economic utility rationality but value rationality.
4. Human Scale Development, which is to contribute to the process of empowerment of people living in impoverished rural reserves, requires both economic growth and the maintenance of an integrated identity. In a situation where people experience competing worldviews this is problematic.
5. One way of overcoming the dilemma involves mediation between the conflicting value systems in a manner which provides an integrated identity and is consistent with the economic imperatives.

PART TWO

THE MICRO-STUDY

In this part of the study I translate the macro-study into a scaled down, empirically testable, research project. In order to achieve this the macro-hypothesis : **social and economic development, in a situation of competing worldviews, depends on the mediation of conflicting symbols in a manner which is not inconsistent with the economic imperatives**, is unpacked.

A situation of competing worldviews familiar to the researcher is described. I then show that social development in this context is impeded by the lack of mediation between conflicting paradigmatic elements and values. Thereafter, much attention is given to the complex task of designing tools to map identity and values, locate critical points of tension between conflicting values and, where present, mediating symbols. Finally, I examine a range of corporate strategies that demonstrate ways of mediating between the conflicting paradigmatic symbols.

4. Description and Problematisation

4.1 Three Socio-cultural contexts:

The Children's Home, The Street, and The Rural Home

4.1.1 A Children's Home in the Transkei for youths who have had a street-wise experience.

The focus.

The aim of this descriptive section is to introduce the reader to the project. The information is selective in terms of my specific interest in identity problems in a cross-cultural and **competing** worldviews situation, and a number of questions concerning the values operative in the Home guide the section. These questions are: How did the Children's Home come into being? Who initiated it? How is it structured? How does it function? Who makes the decisions? Where does the funding come from?

A Brief History

In 1984 a dominee/mission worker of the N.G Kerk in Afrika and Regional Manager of Mfesane Welfare Transkei (at the time) initiated a feasibility study aimed at gauging the nature of the problem of street children in Umtata and the availability of resources, both human and capital, to be invested in a project that would begin to address the problem meaningfully.

The findings of the study indicated that approximately 100 male youths between the ages 9-18 were on¹⁷ the streets of the Umtata CBD. The majority in the age bracket group 15-18.

¹⁷. Dr Richter of UNISA differentiates between two types of children associated with the streets. The child 'on' the street is there during the day but has a place to sleep at night i.e he/she is regarded as having accommodation. The child who is 'of' the street not only makes a living off the street but also stays on the street (see KINDERVERSORGER 6(7):11-14). It was not possible initially to differentiate between those

A small group of people pooled their resources and established a pilot project which would serve to investigate a methodological frame for working with these children. This group consisted of the dominee / welfare manager, 2 social workers from the Department of Welfare and Pensions Transkei, a Mennonite Central Committee (North America) fieldworker seconded to Transkei Council of Churches, a psychiatric nurse, the Chair of the Student Christian Movement, and a project coordinator.

In 1985 a children's home was established along the Transkei coast in the Umzumvubu (Port St Johns) District. It was scaled down to take only 7 youths until 1988, so that the pilot project phase could be run. Thereafter, the home took a maximum of 12 boys. The staff consisted of a housemother, housefather, an educare worker and an associate social worker (in a consulting capacity).

Once a workable therapeutic methodology had evolved and staff had undergone the initial childcare training the children's home became fully operational. In the meanwhile phase two of the project was underway, namely, the establishing of a Nightshelter for street children. Street children were initially accommodated in temporary premises which was also used as a nightshelter for adults. This did not work out well, due to friction between the adults and youths. Alternative short term accommodation was, however, found. The lack of suitable existing premises to house the street children in the longer term resulted in the management committee securing the capital and three sponsors, and, in 1991, they began the erection of a R300,000 building to accommodate 20-30 street children at any one time.

'of' and those 'on' the street. However, over the first three months after a nightshelter for the shelterless in Umtata was opened in 1988 the social worker's records reflected 250 children had been at the nightshelter for varying lengths of time.

The Structure of the Umtata Street Child Programme¹⁸.

The programme consists of two projects the Nightshelter and the Children's Home. There is a management committee and a sub-committee for fundraising.

The Management Committee is made up of members of the community. They are categorized according to their portfolio, occupation, and organizational association¹⁹.

The 1990-1992 Management Committee:

- * social worker/project coordinator - represents the Catholic Development Centre, Catholic Church
- * the chairperson - dominee, NG Kerk in Afrika (ex-Coordinator of the church based Mfesane Welfare [one of the major private welfare organizations in the Transkei])
- * vice-chairperson - lecturer, St Bedes Anglican Seminary
- * treasurer - lecturer in accounting, UNITRA, Baptist Church
- * secretary - the wife of the Chief Justice, Baptist Church
- * finance committee rep. - pre-school teacher
- * Children's Home rep. - childcare worker, NG Kerk in Afrika
- * Nightshelter rep. - childcare worker, Methodist Church
- * committee member - businesswoman, exec. member of the ANC Transkei
- * committee member - businessman, Director of Mfesane Transkei
- * committee member - social worker, Depart. of Welfare & Pensions
- * committee member - businesswomen, Methodist Church
- * committee member - Hospital Christian Fellowship, Christian Organizations of Transkei (CRIOTRA)²⁰ representative

The staff are classified in the same fashion.

The 1991 Staff of Children's Home :

- * Housefather, NG Kerk in Afrika
- * Housemother, Full Gospel Church of God
- * Educare worker, NG Kerk in Afrika
- * 2 Volunteers from England

¹⁸. The Children's Home and Nightshelter was initially a project of Mfesane Welfare. In 1988, however, it was decided that in order to encourage the Umtata community to identify with the project it would need to be seen as locally based. Mfesane Welfare, with its head office in Cape Town, agreed to allow the project to operate autonomously, with it and the Catholic Development Centre functioning as trustees - providing managerial and financial assistance.

¹⁹. This information is provided in order to give the reader some idea as to where members of the committee are coming from and how this might affect the philosophical frame of the Children's Home.

²⁰. CRIOTRA is an umbrella organization of evangelical para-church groupings such as Hospital Christian Fellowship, Teachers Christian fellowship, Student Christian Movement.

Agencies linked to the Umtata Street Child Program:

- * The Catholic Development Centre
- * Mfesane Welfare Transkei
- * Local Government

Sources of Funding:

1. Running Costs : Mfesane, Catholic Development Centre, Local Government, the public
2. Capital Costs : Overseas Aid, "Big Business" concerns with branches in the Transkei

The Functioning of the Programme with special reference to the Children's Home.

The Programme functions on three levels. These are : i.) fieldworkers work with youths on the street, ii.) a "basic needs" programme is run at the nightshelter for a group of resident street children and a fringe group, who come and go, iii.) a more intensive basic needs and reintegration programme is offered at the Children's Home. I will deal with the latter here.

Youths enter the programme and progress from one level to the next as they choose to. The youths admitted to the Children's Home have by and large responded to counseling in the Nightshelter and have indicated they wish to live in a family situation with the ultimate goal being the "normalization" of their lives. They are, however, not able to be reintegrated with their families²¹, in the short and medium term, for one or other reason (be it more due to conditions at home or more the youth's instability or a combination of the two).

The fundamental principles guiding the programme have already been hinted at. I will be more specific now.

²¹. The possibilities for the child returning home are explored before he is admitted to Mfesane Children's Home.

The key Principles and ideals are:

i.) Voluntary co-operation and participation.

Street Children have learnt to deal with situations that they find intolerable or unmanageable by running away. They are, therefore, highly mobile. They participate in the programme because they decide it is in their best interests at that moment. Any programme involving street children would have to ensure their participation by consent, if their cooperation is to last.

ii.) Reintegration.

The aim of the programme is to facilitate the youth's transformation from being a marginal street child to being able to meet their basic needs increasingly in the short and medium terms, and, in the longer term, to being reintegrated into society as a valued member of society.

iii.) A "basic needs" and holistic approach.

The Children's Home, in particular, is orientated to providing an environment where the physical, psychological, educational, and spiritual needs can be met at a basic level and to teaching the youths the necessary life skills to be able to continue to meet ^{their} ~~there~~ basic needs once they leave the Children's home.

iv.) The approach is microscopic and aimed at integrating those who participate in the programme into society once again. As a development programme it works towards facilitating social and personal transformation of the street child population in Umtata.

The growing street child population in Umtata is a social problem associated with macroscopic factors such as poverty, and the disintegration of the African families linked to the absence of men and women (father and mothers) labour migrants which

bring pressure to bear on rural families. These issues are the focus of development agencies such as the Catholic Development Centre.

v.) The frame in which the Children's Home operates is overtly Christian and Western. This influences the entire programme from counseling, to daily devotions and Sunday School. Inevitably these values are infused into everyday run-of-the-mill meanings and activities. The constitution states that the children's cultural background is taken into consideration but this is poorly defined and left to the staff's interpretation and discretion.

The power²² dynamic internally and externally.

The most influential people in the programme at the moment are the coordinator and the residential staff. External groups which exercise influence over the project are the donors. This is expected to become increasingly the case as the programme develops into a much bigger concern. There is some evidence already that in the case of overseas funders, who have a set of criteria for assessing whether they wish to fund a project, the programme as a whole, and the Home in particular, has been adjusted to meet some of the criteria.

At the moment the internal power dynamic is more evident. Policy decisions, the practical implementation thereof, and general development of the Home is influenced directly by the coordinator, the staff and youths, in this order. The coordinator is, generally, the most influential due to her professional qualifications as a social worker (knowledge is thus a form of power) and her pivotal position at the centre of the programme. The staff are able to influence the decision-making process somewhat due to their being the key "operators" in the programme. The children are able to refuse to cooperate (even the threat of running away puts them in a power position) if they so choose.

²². By the term "Power" I mean the ability to influence people whether they agree or not.

4.1.2 The Street-wise experience.

There appear to be no easy answers as to why youths live on the streets of Umtata (or for that matter anywhere else). There are instances where adversity in the home will split families apart and yet strengthen the bonds in others (see Ennew, 1986:11).

Whatever harsh realities life on the streets involves for youths, it also offers them an opportunity to eat more regularly and to escape the otherwise daily abuse of one form or another. Furthermore, they say they have more control over their own lives (which they prize).

The street child takes on the responsibility associated with adulthood such as finding his own shelter and sources of food and clothing.

Clothing is often an odd assortment of rags from the city dump, "hand-me-downs" and new items of clothing. In warm and cold weather all the clothing he has is worn as there is no where safe to keep it.

Street children of Umtata sleep under bridges, abandoned car wrecks, in the forest in cardboard boxes, in alleys and, where possible, in old derelict buildings.

They commonly sleep in groups, primarily for safety and warmth. They refer to being members of gangs but this is more in the collective sense rather than the anti-social conventional sense of the term. Gangs, in the latter sense of the word, do exist and use/abuse the street children but street children are not known to form their own anti-social gangs.

Amongst the street children it would appear that certain individuals are regarded as leaders. The qualities for leadership are physical size and strength, cleverness, trustworthiness, and sharing.

The Umtata street children obtain money in much the same way as other people who rely on street occupations for income. The children consider their daily occupations to be a form of work. There are three common ways of obtaining money, namely, thieving, begging, and, hawking and servicing "enterprises". Examples of the latter are : carrying groceries from the supermarkets to the taxi and bus terminus; car and taxi washing; functioning as taxi-conductors (shouting out the taxi destination and collecting the fare). There are various ingenious enterprises undertaken by some of the street children. One young boy of no more than 14 years, who stayed at the nightshelter in 1988, would stand outside the public toilet at the bus and taxi terminus and sell sheets of toilet paper and a small piece of soap for 10 cents each.

Much of the "takings" in a day is spent on financing drug habits such as the sniffing of glue, benzine, petrol, thinners, and smoking dagga.

The community response is varied. The street hawkers and taxi drivers are very protective. Whilst the police treat them harshly. I recall in 1986 the police launched a "cleanup" operation aimed at street children after a prominent businessman had accused some of stealing. A street child was shot during the raid and later died. The street children simply disappeared from the streets of Umtata only to reappear after some months. Supermarket managers regularly complain that street children adversely affect their business by their presence in and around the supermarkets. In a survey undertaken in Umtata in 1984²³ to gauge the public view of street children the manager of the major supermarket in Umtata regarded police action to be the only solution to the problem.

²³. This formed part of the feasibility study undertaken by Mfesane Welfare.

4.1.3 The Rural Homestead

The socio-cultural context of the ex-street children's homes vary from being African Traditional homestead centred to more Western orientated. The latter is evident, among other things, in the family's mainline church affiliation.

In more than half of the 20 case histories I have explored of youths who have had a street-wise experience, evidence suggests they grew up in Traditional African socio-cultural environments.

A recent ethnographic study undertaken by Kuckertz (1990) in a Mpondo village in the Transkei represents the Homestead centred socio-religious life.²⁴

4.2 Some Problems

which arise out of the youth's predicament.

The children residing in the Children's home have thus had three very different socio-cultural experiences. The street-wise experience is very different from the homestead experience and the Western Christian context of Children's home is far removed from both the street and homestead cultural systems. This raises a number of questions and concerns. These can be categorized for convenience as,

- i.) problems of identity and the need for an integrated identity, at an individual level;
- ii.) corporate belonging, at the level of society; and
- iii.) ethical responsibility, at the pastoral/interventionist level.

²⁴. Kuckertz's micro-study of the Caguba community's socio-religious life does not reflect the interaction between the rural homestead centred culture and Western culture which McAllister (in Mayer, 1980) refers to in an anthropological study of the rural traditional Shixini community near Willowvale. Caguba is a community affected by migrant labour and a major up-market holiday resort is situated some 10 km away at the mouth of the Umgazi River yet the socio-cultural disturbance caused by the absence of males central to ritual practice and the symbol of Western urban culture are not reflected in his study.

Multi-cultural experiences as diverse as the homestead culture, street sub-culture and children's home culture over a relatively short time span (possibly three years) raises "who am I" type questions. Each context is potentially identity-generating. I say potentially because it depends on factors such as the individual youth's identity status or development when entering a new context (whether an identity is well developed or not), length of time spent in one or other socio-cultural environment, and how he responds to the culture(s) available in the context.

At this juncture it is necessary to point out, albeit not in detail, that each socio-cultural context reflects symbolic elements from different worldviews. It is important to differentiate between experiences and worldviews²⁵. While the worldviews are to some extent self explanatory the details of each are dealt with in Section 8. The three experiences and the symbolic material, from different corporate worldviews, associated with each can be expressed as follows:

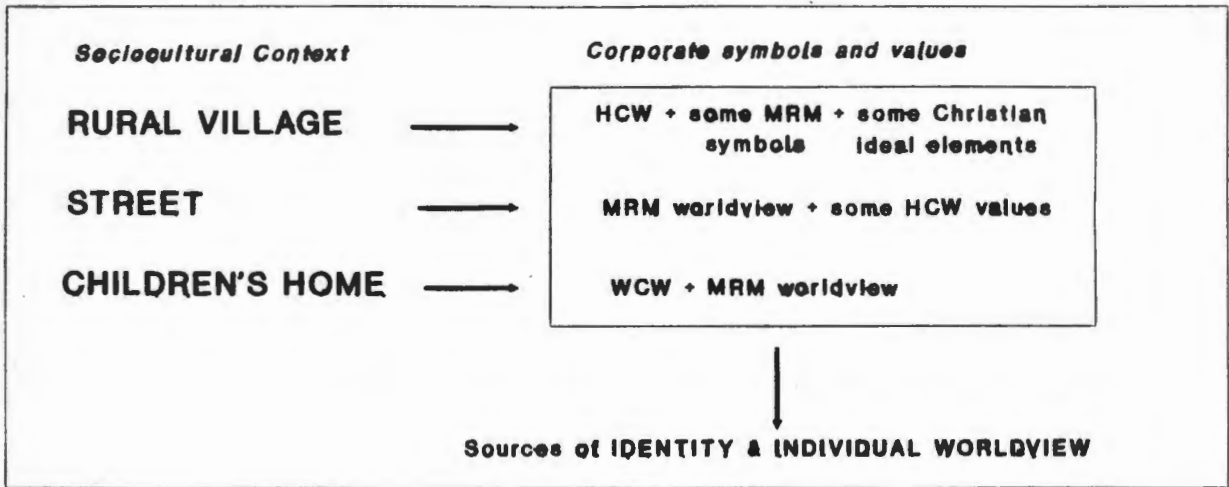
- i. The rural village socio-cultural experience reflects a Homestead Centred Worldview (HCW) with some Christian ideal elements and Modern Rational Material (MRM) symbols and values.
- ii. The Street experience reflects a Modern Rational Material worldview and some Homestead Centred values.
- iii. The Children's Home presents a Western Christian ideal worldview_Λ and reflects a Modern Rational Material worldview.

The individual youths in the Children's Home have experienced rapid socio-cultural change and find themselves in a situation where the worldviews are felt to be in competition.

In what way does this affect the youth's view of himself and how does he make sense of his total life experience? Does this not create identity problems?

²⁵. For further differentiation between experience and worldview see Section 5 : Theoretical Frame.

Diagrammatically this can be shown as follows:



The programme aims at reintegrating the ex-street children back into society. This raises further concerns. Reintegration involves the youth feeling that he fits into and belongs in one or other community. The youths in the Children's Home have basically one of two options. Either they return home to their rural families or they work/school in or near Umtata. The children will need to share the values of the rural or urban environment if they are to have a sense of belonging. The potential lack of correspondence and resultant tension between the individual identity and community identity does not generate a felt sense of belonging. This is a prerequisite for reintegration to take place.

In a Western Christian cultural context the youth may well assimilate a more or less Christian value system which would facilitate a move into a Western socio-cultural environment. This would, however, in all probability, not result in an integrated (past

and present) identity. A Western Christian self understanding would, furthermore, generate identity tension if the youth were to return to traditional village context.²⁶

Erny (1973:212) in Childhood and Cosmos : The Social Psychology of the Black African Child draws attention to this problem with reference to education. "Africa will undergo by degrees an irreversible cultural change for which today's pedagogy must prepare it... During a transitional phase which may last about 10 years, perhaps for centuries in some regions, a duality is observable in the child's education. He is subject to two pedagogical systems foreign to one another, differing in origin and spirit, according to whether he is in school or family surroundings. The child must learn to play upon a double cultural keyboard, to adjust his ways of thinking, expressing himself, and behaving according to circumstances and surroundings in which he finds himself." He goes on to say "We see a radical difference of orientation and spirit between the two pedagogies, and yet they are asked to coexist, to harmonize. This cannot go on without causing difficulties ... particularly for the child."

The interventionist (the project social worker and child care worker) is faced with a number of ethical problems. Where does his/her responsibility begin and end? If the programme is to facilitate the youth's transition back into society then how best can he/she prepare the youth for re-entry? This raises further questions such as what is the socio-cultural nature of the society the young person is required to survive in?

Is the interventionist to prepare the youth for reintegration into a traditional village context which presently has a Homestead Centred Worldview and orientation of action, and not consider the longer term; or is he/she to anticipate the move, by the youth, in years to come into a socio-cultural context which is increasingly dominated by Modern Rational Material worldview, and, thus, now facilitate a socio-psychological

²⁶ It is a moot point whether the experience of incompatibility is in every instance spontaneously felt by indigenous people in a situation of competing worldviews or whether, in fact, the incompatibility itself is induced by Western social and sometimes even legal exclusion of indigenous beliefs and practices perceived to contravene Western modes of thought and action. Whichever is the case, where incompatibility occurs, there is a tendency in the long run to anomie.

and cultural transformation aimed at empowering the youth to meet the demands associated with economic progress? Is there a way out of this dilemma, by integrating a deep respect for traditional African values and the demands of broader society orientated according to Modern Rational Material worldview?

Is it, therefore, responsible for the interventionist to offer an idealistic Western Christian model of reality displaced to Africa which will ill equip the youth to cope when he leaves the Home?

An appropriate concern for the interventionist, who is not to impose a moral system on the children, is how he/she can best guide, orientate, contribute, provide opportunities and facilitate the youth integrating, what is more than likely, a fragmented identity in a way that best equips him to function in the worldview of the broader society that he will enter some years hence, without abandoning his African identity.

I will not deal with the ethical dilemma of the interventionist within the parameters of the present study. It will, however, be given attention in the large-scale study which is to follow.

Out of this set of questions I formulate a single research focus and hypothesis which reflects the macro-hypothesis.

Integrated identity and belonging for ex-street children, in a situation of competing worldviews, depends on the mediation of conflicting paradigmatic symbols.

It is obvious from the above that I am implying a relationship exists between socio-cultural experience, worldview and identity.

I will proceed now to examine the expected relationship drawing on Cumpsty's model.

5. A Theoretical Frame

5.1 Identity, Worldview and Socio-cultural Experience

Reference has been made to "identity formation", "worldviews" and various diverse "socio-cultural experiences" suggesting they are linked. It is necessary to articulate this more specifically. I am therefore concerned in this section with the concepts "identity", "worldview" and "socio-cultural change" and the expected relationship between them.

The concern throughout is the identity of the youth and the bringing together in some integrated, unified manner the currently fragmented sense of self in a way that promotes (re)integration into the future wider society.²⁷

Drawing, primarily, on Cumpsty's development of H.C Rumke's model in "The formation and expression of the individuals felt sense of reality", I will now look at the relationship between identity, worldview and socio-cultural experience.

Identity and social reality.

Identity is one of those terms that is difficult to define. For my purposes, however, it can be seen to be an individual's concern with the question: "Who am I?" Taylor (1989:27) notes that one speaks of identity in terms of the question "Who am I?" This cannot necessarily be answered by giving one's name and genealogy. What does answer this question, however, is an understanding of what is of crucial importance to one. To know who one is, is a species of knowing where one stands in relation to all-that-out-there.

²⁷. The assumption is that there will always be moves in the long run to maintain a unified sense of the real and self.

The development of a sense of self is both personal and social. Moscovici (1990:73) articulates it thus: "Everything is related to similarity and difference, to what represents self and the not-self, it being well understood that identity relates both to individuals and to the groups in which they are located by choice or otherwise. A person identity implies a collective identity; the "I" which separates and distances, is in profound collusion with the "we" of the mass, which unifies." Psycho-social identity is at once a do-it-yourself enterprise and a social activity which involves a quest for a sense of belonging.

"...[I]dentity depends on relationship. Even if it is by over-against-ness rather than by identification, I require the other in order to know who I am. Even if I do not affirm the other, I must affirm the cosmos of which the other is part and seek to belong to that, if I am to develop an identity. Thus, the drive to establish an identity is necessarily a drive to belong." (Cumpsty, 1991:165). An identity depends on how an individual's participation in his/her environment has shaped it. The detail and content of identity is generated in relation to socio-cultural experience.

By socio-cultural experience we mean the sum total of each individuals every experience of his/her world-out-there. This may be unique to each individual but it is very much manipulated by the culture and social structure of which he/she is a product and in part a co-creator. (This will be expanded later)

Cumpsty (ibid.:164) expresses it thus : "The awareness of individuality, of having become an ego over and against all that is non-ego, the awareness 'that I am ', leads inevitably to the quest to know 'what I am' and hence to a dependence upon the world-out-there. Self-knowledge is not possible in a vacuum. Rather, it is the obverse of the question 'What is all that out there?'" An individual's sense of who he/she is, therefore, shaped by his/her participation in reality. Self-image can be said to depend on how an individual perceives his/her participation in reality. It is this more conscious aspect of identity which will receive my attention.

I now unpack the notion that experience of the world-out-there (WOT) in the longer term shapes an individual's sense of WOT and therefore his/her identity. The relation between elements is referred to in very cognitive terms, without denying the more affective dimension (which is not clearly distinguishable from the cognitive), primarily because the cognitive is more accessible for investigation.

Identity, socio-cultural experience and symbolized reality.

I start by looking at what is meant by the individual's "experience of WOT"²⁸.

This involves, at the more cognitive level, a **selection** from and **evaluation** of all that which an individual is confronted with in the socio-cultural context. This selection process takes the form of recognizing **this** rather than **that**. The evaluation thereof takes the form of attaching values to the selected raw experience. This can vary from person to person and, in the case of an individual person's experience, from context to context (i.e. what a person values in one context does not necessarily apply in another).

One way of illustrating this varying perceptions of the same objective scene from person to person is the manner in which reporters do not describe the same event or scene identically.

The recognition of that which confronts one in a particular context and the response to that which is recognized is culturally conditioned (see below).

In a similar fashion raw experience goes through a selection-evaluation filter process to inform, alter, add to or simply confirm, a person's self conception. The effect of the socio-cultural experience on a person's self conception is normally a long term process. There are exceptions, but I will not go into these here.

²⁸. I tend to use World-Out-There and Reality interchangeably. Socio-cultural environment is a dimension of reality - a major dimension.

The youths in the Home have been confronted with three identity significant socio-cultural contexts. These are in order of experience i.) the rural home context ; ii.) the street context; ii.) the children's home context. The sense of reality, for example, of a street child is vastly different from the reality of a child in a rural village minding sheep and cattle. One would expect the three socio-cultural environments to be in competition in the shaping the child's self-understanding.

The felt sense of who one is may be shaped by one's participation in reality but, it is given conceptual meaning (a language in which one can speak of self), and expressed in symbolic form. Any attempt to explain self in relation to the world draws on a pool of possible symbols. For it to be meaningful it must satisfactorily answer, for the individual, the question "Who am I?" which is a species of the question "What is all-that-out-there?"

A primary source of the symbols in this pool of possible symbols is the individuals "established"²⁹ symbolized sense of reality³⁰, including an **individual worldview**³¹ and any **worldview** shared with others.

The three socio-cultural environments experienced by the youths in the Home generate symbol sets which serve to inform the youths' sense of self and to filter experiences of the world-out-there.

²⁹. This is subject to revision to ensure in the longer term that the individual worldview fits his/her socio-cultural experience.

³⁰. The symbolized reality also serves to shape the filter referred to earlier.

³¹. I understand the term worldview in a specific way. Redfield (cited in Chidester, 1987) has noted that a worldview is "the way a man, in a particular society, sees himself in relation to all else." A worldview shapes the way in which people look at themselves in relation to everything else, real and ultimately real. A worldview is that perspective from which people perceive, interpret, and imagine the world they experience (ibid). But it is more than a way of seeing, or a way of thinking, it is a multi-dimensional network of strategies for negotiating an identity (Chidester, JSR, vol.2, no.1, March 1989:16). In this sense it has the comprehensive capacity to organize every aspect of human belief, action and experience. At a corporate level it is expressed in a language of symbols and meaning.

Social Change and Identity.

It is noteworthy that the way people make sense of their life-world, belong to it, and all the symbols which invest meaning in this process of a felt sense of belonging to WOT, can and will change in order to ensure the maintenance of a sense of belonging and a unified sense of WOT (Cumpsty, 1991). I noted earlier that an individual's **conceptualized** sense of self is derived predominantly from socio-cultural experience and corporately held worldview. There needs to be, in the long run³³, a fit between self-image and socio-cultural experience for a sense of belonging and identity to be maintained. Socio-cultural experience is the subject of the question "What is the essential nature of total experience?" or WOT which mirrors the question "Who am I?".

In the long term as individuals experience identity significant changes in their socio-cultural experience their sense of self and worldview will change.

The situation of competing worldviews experienced by the youths' in the Home, thus, affects both the socio-cultural experience and the set of symbols they draw on to give meaning to their experience of WOT.

The youths' in the Home no longer experience a single socio-cultural context, neither do they draw on a single worldview to give meaning to their felt sense of reality. While cultural elements of Modern Rational Material worldview coexist with Homestead Centred worldview, Western Christian model of reality is on offer as a way of engaging with the WOT.

Neither of these worldviews singularly corresponds with the recent past and present experience of the world-out-there which is made up of 3 socio-cultural experiences. Aspects are relevant in giving meaning to different experiences but a coherent unified

³³. In the short run between self-understanding and any tradition shared with others if a sense of belonging and identity is to be maintained.

symbolized reality remains illusive due to the incompatibility of key paradigmatic symbols stemming from the respective worldviews.

The theoretical understanding of the relationship between socio-cultural context, worldview (individual and corporate), and identity facilitates the consideration of the consequences of a situation of competing worldviews for identity and a sense of belonging.

5.2 Socio-psychological Consequences of a situation of competing worldviews.

This can be considered on two levels. The first is the quest for a unified sense of reality. The second is at level of everyday decision-making.

A unified sense of reality is absent.

To have a unified felt sense of reality and integrated identity depends on an integrated and coherent symbolized felt sense of reality, including a coherent worldview (which in the long run needs to fit socio-cultural experience. Where one draws on incompatible worldviews this unified sense of reality does come of its own and, thus, identity is threatened.

Some youths attempt to consciously reject all African traditional symbols, which are an integral part of self, and adopt of a purely Western Christian set of symbols, which is not consistent with their total life-experience. A religio-cultural system such as Western Christianity dominant in the Children's Home is a powerful force in overcoming the problem of identity formation. And, yet, simultaneously, and for the same reason, it is a powerful source of alienated or false consciousness (see Cumpsty, 1991:313). This tends to lead to self-alienation and, even, anomie, thus, hindering the process of reintegration in the wider society which brings together symbolic categories from both African and Western models of reality.

Everyday decision-making is affected.

A worldview provides a frame within which one tries to determine from case to case what is good to be, or valuable, or what ought to be done, or what one endorses or opposes. It involves discriminations of right or wrong, better or worse, higher or lower which are prescribed by the individual belonging to particular cultural groupings and adhering to the values of the grouping. (see the section on Aggregations discussed below)

Moral beliefs associated with membership of a social grouping(s) significant to identity involve prohibitions and obligations but it is also what constitutes a sense of rich meaningful life.

People may see their identity as defined partly by some commitment to a set of values or they may define it in part by, for example, the nation or tradition community they belong to. What people are saying by this is not merely that they are strongly attached to a moral orientation or cultural tradition, it is that this provides the frame within which they can determine where they stand on questions of what is good, or worthwhile or admirable, or of value.

In a situation where an individual draws on contradictory sets of values which are associated with different identity significant groupings, e.g traditional village community and homestead, and technologically advanced society, they would in all likelihood not know anymore, for an important range of questions, what the significance of things was for them, would be "at sea", experience anomie. This is an acute form of disorientation which people may express in terms of not knowing who they are, and which can also be seen as a radical uncertainty as to where they stand in relation to WOT. They lack a dominant frame within which things can take on a stable significance, within which some life possibilities can be seen

as good or meaningful, others as bad or trivial. The meaning of all these possibilities is in a state of flux, unfixed, confused. This, state of non-being, is, according to Taylor (1989:27) a painful and frightening experience.

6. The Mapping of Worldviews and Values

My next concern will be to develop a socio-psychological indicator to map more specifically the identity significant values and corporate worldviews drawn on by the youths in the Home. A more sophisticated indicator will reveal the presence of non-negotiable, incompatible paradigmatic symbols, and any mediating symbols. This is a necessary step to facilitate knowing which strategies to integrate identity, and generate a unified sense of the world-out-there and a sense of belonging are appropriate, given the youths predicament.

Mapping the values and symbols which are identity significant for the individual is a way of locating the worldview of an individual.

Worldview is a symbolic frame of reference which people draw on when they perceive, interpret and imagine the world they experience and it is the way they see themselves in relation to their life-experience. It is both the answer to the question "Who am I?" and "What is all that out there?". Worldview as a corporate enterprise is seen as an ongoing process of symbolic construction and negotiation out of which corporate identity emerges. This reflects that people are social beings constituting, and constituted by, participation in any number of social groupings. Much of individual identity and worldview is thus formed by participation in these corporate identities³⁴ and drawing on corporate worldviews. These corporate aspects of identity Cumpsty (1991:319) refers to as "aggregations significant in identity".

Belonging to aggregations involves belonging to the world-out-there. The smaller a person's world the more immediate the aggregations significant to identity and belonging. As the person's world expands so do the number and/or size of the aggregations significant in identity.

³⁴. Cumpsty (1991) notes, however, that a part of individual identity will always be idiosyncratic.

Every aggregation (insofar as it is not simply a collection of individuals) has its own value system. "Thus belonging to an aggregation significant in identity necessarily means espousing a set of values which are felt to be significant for the survival of the aggregation" (ibid: 320).

People are not necessarily very aware of their identity significant aggregations until they feel irritation when some outsider criticizes them or loyalty to one aggregation is in conflict with loyalty to another. Much of the shared value system also lies hidden until some crisis propels it, or aspects thereof, into the fore of the individual's consciousness.

The significance of values to an individual are dependent firstly, on the importance of the survival of the related aggregation to the individual concerned, i.e. how central in an individual's identity formation an aggregation is, and secondly, the ranking of each value for the survival of the aggregation (ibid: 320; 323).

Hence, we can say that by locating the identity significant aggregations of an individual and the associated values and symbols we are able to map an individual's worldview.

Elements significant in identity formation may be arranged in a kind of hierarchy, some being stronger than others for the purposes of defining what a person is. Kiernan (1990: 210-11) draws attention to this. In some instances religious identity is worn lightly, submerged in the total identity bundle and rendered almost invisible as a personal maker (ibid). On the contrary, the religious identity may be the paramount element in the bundle, in such a way that it gives definitive shape to the total identity (ibid). There is another possibility. An individual may choose to stress different features of the cluster at different times, so that what is dominant and subordinate may vary according to the situation. (ibid)

Cumpsty (ibid.:322) identifies a possible hierarchy of significant aggregations to which an individual might belong.

Different levels where possible identity significant groupings can be found are arranged from the most immediate level gradually expanding to the more all inclusive level. These are : Family or Peer group, Community, Nation, Free-World, Humanity, Natural order.

But, how does one know which aggregations and associated values and symbols are significant for an individual in his/her identity formation?

It is those which **collectively** in the longer term provide a felt sense of enrichment in term of belonging to the world-out-there. Enrichment, in the way it is used here, means "the meeting of life's needs and the raising and meeting of further needs" (ibid. 343). In addition to the need to belong to an ultimately-real, Cumpsty (ibid) refers to the need to meet life needs³⁵ which are generated by an individual's relation to the world-out-there and which are culturally and socio-economically determined.

This also applies, by implication, to worldview. A worldview is in the long run authenticated by meeting a need i.e providing a feeling of reality and, thus a sense of belonging.

In a situation of competing worldviews such as the co-existence of Modern Rational Material Worldview and Homestead Centred Worldview, aggregations significant in the identity of an individual may not promote the same, nor, at least, compatible, sets and values. A fragmentation of identity will not necessarily be experienced as this depends on the prioritizing of aggregations in the formation of identity. For example, if the aggregation family, with a Homestead Centred orientation, remains a primary aggregation whilst the aggregation school, with its Modern Rational Material orientation, is considered marginal or for that matter the reverse, the potential for fragmenting identity is not high. In the extreme opposite scenario identity reaches a

³⁵. I differentiate between basic human drive for physical survival and identity and felt needs which vary from culture to culture and even class to class and satisfiers which are linked to a human drive.

critical point in terms of the potential for fragmentation when both aggregations are considered primary for belonging.

In the section that follows I present a questionnaire which is the first of a number of questionnaires aimed at mapping the youth's worldview and the aggregations significant in his identity. Subsequent questionnaires will be increasingly refined to more specifically map the worldview of the youths. Some preliminary findings are also included. Thereafter, I consider possible paradigmatic non-negotiable symbols in Homestead Centred, Modern Rational Material and Western Christian Worldviews. This will enable me to determine in what situation the individual will experience a critical point which could possibly result in a shift in paradigmatic symbol orientation to restore integrated identity and worldview.

7. Questionnaire ONE

7.1 Formulating the Questionnaire.

The questionnaire is aimed at a small target group consisting of the youths engaged in the Programme, and involved in the Children's Home and the nightshelter, during the selected period in which fieldwork is to be done. It is administered in a structured interview fashion by a single researcher.

To familiarize myself with questionnaire design I initially attended a week long workshop, which focused on designing questionnaires for field research, under the guidance of experts in epidemiological research.

Deciding on the content, specific wording, and sequence of questions.

As the target group in this study is Xhosa-speaking youths it is necessary to not only conduct the interviews in Xhosa but also to ensure that the questions asked are phrased in a manner that the youths can easily comprehend. The concepts used need to be familiar to the youths. To achieve this I conducted some initial exploratory fieldwork which was aimed at generating the appropriate questions which would serve as a pool of possible questions out of which Questionnaire I could be formulated.

The following steps outline what turned out to be rather a lengthy process.

Step 1 : Pre-field preparation

I articulated a set of abstract concepts and variables specifically relevant to the study. These included, present and past socio-cultural experiences, corporate worldview orientation, aggregations significant in identity and corporately held individual values.

The variables chosen arose out of the theoretical understanding of the relationship between socio-cultural context, worldview and identity and the affect of socio-cultural change on identity and worldview in the long run, and the probable existence of conflicting values and aggregations significant in identity formation.

The abstract variables were operationalised by converting them into a sets of guide questions using concepts which were thought to be appropriately suited to the target group. This was done in consultation with an expert in marketing research and questionnaire design. My major concern at this stage was with the question sequence and ensuring that there were no sudden shifts in direction which would spoil the flow of questions, as they gradually built on one another, while being careful not to lead the respondents answers.

Step 2: Question re-construction in the field.

I discussed the guide questions, in view of the variables I am interested in measuring, with the educare worker, a resident member of staff in the Children's Home. My primary concern was to phrase the questions using ideas and concepts familiar to the youths. This resulted in our reconstructing the questions in Xhosa based on the original sets guide questions but taking into account terminology and phraseology the youths would feel more familiar with. Such a time consuming process is necessary and crucial if I am to solicit the information I was looking for.

Each Xhosa question was then translated into English for the benefit of those, who are not Xhosa speaking, who may read the study.

Step 3 : Piloting the Questionnaire and further alterations

After a series of questions had been compiled I proceeded to pilot these by working through the questions with each of a group of 7 youths in the Home. Each time it appeared a question was not easily understood I took time to find out, from the youth,

in conversation whether the concepts and language used were clear. If the concepts did not need changing and the problem lay in the phrasing of the question I would rephrase the question in a way the youth indicated was more comprehensible. These were once again discussed with the educare worker and re-checked when subsequent youths were interviewed.

Step 4 : Re-checking the technical aspects of Questionnaire One.

Technical aspects regarding the appropriate structure and level of disguise to be used, and the actual content, wording and sequence of the questions in Questionnaire needed further attention.

While the workshop on Questionnaire Design provided me with a sound orientation for designing and sensitized me to the many technical aspects of a questionnaire, repeated consultation with a marketing researcher and experienced questionnaire designer served to improve the quality of the questionnaire. Technical aspects of the questionnaire, such as, the suitability of a question in measuring a variable, the sequence of the questions, avoiding ambiguity or double-barreled questions or leading questions were checked once again and the necessary technical changes were made on.

7.2 QUESTIONNAIRE ONE

Identity and worldview mapping

Urban/rural home orientation

1. Wakhulela phi?

a. eDolophini okanye b. eDolophini enkulu okanye c. elalini

Where did you spend your childhood?¹

a. a town b. a city c. a rural village

Personal preference - a more rural or more urban environment²

2. Ungonwaba xa uhleli ixesha elide phi?

a. eDolophini okanye b. eDolophini enkulu okanye c. ezilalini

If you had to now reside for a long time in a rural village, a town or a city where would you be more comfortable?

a. a town or b. a city or c. village

Worldview Orientation whilst growing up at home.

3.1 Ukuba ngaba ukhulele elalini okanye edolophini encanincane ngaba kukho iCawe oyaziyo eyayinabantu abeninzi?

a. Ewe okanye b. Hayi

Were you aware of a popularly supported church in the vicinity of your home?

a. yes b. no

3.2 Xa ikhona, ngaba abantu bakokwenu babesiya bona eCawe na?

a. Ewe okanye b. Hayi

If yes, were the people in your home attending this church?

a. yes or b. no

3.3 Ukuba hayi, ukhulele phantsi kwengqeqesh yamasiko esintu na?

a. Ewe okanye b. Hayi

If no, were you raised in a Traditional African way?

a. yes or b. no

View of Life:

4.1 Ngaba unawo umfanekiso ngqondweni wobomi?

a. Ewe b. Hayi

Do you have a picture of life in your mind?

a. yes b. no

¹. This is an English translation of the question. In some cases the English translation may sound rather strange but it is not always easy to find English expressions for Xhosa phrasing.

². These headings indicate what information is required.

4.2 Xa ingu Ewe, bonisa ngo-Ewe okanye nog-Hayi ukuba ezi zinto zilandelayo zikhekelele ukuba ube nalo mfanekiso ngobomi?

EWE HAYI

a. Ngabantu abadala ekayani lakho
b. Ngabazali bakho
c. abazalwana okanye abantu becaweni
d. iRadio ne Newspaper
e. nabahlobo bakho
f. amava womsebenzi owakha wanenza (life on the street)

If yes, indicate "YES" or "NO" as to whether the following has shaped this picture of life?

YES NO

a. elders of your home		
b. your parents		
c. christian or church people		
d. radio and newspapers		
e. your peers at home		
f. your experience whilst working on the street		
g. teachers at school		
h. the adults at the Care Centre/ Jubilee Hall		

5. Bonisa ngo-EWE okanye ngo-HAYI ukuba ngabaphi abantu abakukhuthazayo ebomini bakho?

EWE HAYI

a. ngaba nguMama kho okanye utata kho
b. bo buti no sis bakho
c. abantu abadala esixekweni sakho
d. egang esixekweni sakho
e. abantu badala belapho eCare Centre/Jubilee Hall
f. amaTishala
g. umfundisi nabazalwana
h. okanye omnye esingamxelanga apho

Indicate with a "yes" or "no" which of the following people have guided your upbringing?

	Yes	NO
a. mother or father		
b. brothers and sisters		
c. the elders of your home		
d. your peers at home		
e. the adults at the Care Centre/Jubilee Hall		
f. teachers		
g. your Priest and christian brethren		
h. none of the above		

The significance of a peer group and its values at some stage in the youths life

6. Ngaba ukhe wahlala namakwenkwe azinto nga zakho ixesha elide ungekho kokwenu?

a. Ewe okanye b. Hayi

Have you ever stayed away from home with a group of peers, for a period of 6 months or longer?

Ukuba ewe, uhleli ixesha elingakanani? Wawuhlala phi?

If yes, for how long? Where did you stay?

.....

7. Elixesha uhlala apho, ngaba kukho izinto ezibalulekileyo ngobomi e nanisabelana ngazo?

a. Ewe b. Hayi

During this time did you share any important things in life with them?

a. Yes b. No

8. Ngaba kukho izinto aye baluleke ngazo laa makwenkwe ongazange uzamkeke wena?

a. Ewe, izininzi b. Ewe, incinci c. Hayi

Were there things that the other children in this group (on the street) considered important that you did not agree with?

a. Yes, many b. Yes, a few c. No

The difference between the home orientation and the orientation whilst in the Children's Home.

9. Apha ePSJ/eMtata eJubilee abantu bakufundise izinto abathi zibalulekile ebomini.

9.1 Ngaba ezi mfunisio zintsha?	EWE	HAYI
9.2 Ziza kwakha ezintweni owazifundayo ekhaya?	EWE	HAYI
9.3 Ngaba iyazidiliza mfundiso owazifundayo ekhaya?	EWE	HAYI

Here in Port St Johns/Umtata there are people teaching you things they say are important in life.

9.1 Are these teachings new?	YES	NO
9.2 Do they build on what you were taught at home?	YES	NO
9.3 Do they pull down the teachings you received at home?	YES	NO

Conflicting value systems : street values and institutional values

10.1 Ezinzinto ozifunde apha ePSJ (esikoweni, eCaweni, e Care Centre/ eJubilee) ngaba ziyafana nezizo ozifunde xa ubuhlala negang, (gamanye amakhwenkwe esixekweni sakho), esistratweni?

a. Ewe, ziyafana okanye b. hayi azifani

Do the things (said to be important for life) which you have learnt whilst being in Port St Johns (in: school, Church, Care Centre/ Jubilee Hall) conflict with that which was felt to be important in life when staying with the peer group referred to earlier?

a. Yes or b. No

10.2 Ukuba kukho unohluko omkhulu phakathi kwe zimfundiso ozifumenayo kula naqela mabini abantu? (unz. Abantu basePSJ/ be Jubilee namakhwenkwe okhe wahalala nawo)

a. Hayi b. Ewe, kancinci c. Ewe, kakhulu

If there is a difference between the teachings, concerning what is important in life as promoted in the two places, do you feel these teachings are in conflict?

a. No b. Yes, a little c. Yes, a great deal

Identity significant Aggregations

11. Ngaba leliphi iqela labantu oziva wonwabile okanye ukhululekile xa ukulo? (Keta 2)

a. PSJ: e Care Centre, eCawe, eskolweni, egang yebeach, abantu ongumhambi.

okokuqala; okwesibini.....

b. eKhaya lakho: amakhwenkwe, abazalwana, abazali, otishala, abadala, ubuti nosisi

okokuqala.....; okwesibini.....

c. Transkei: abantu balandela isiko lamaXhosa okanye amaKits, okanye Abazalwana

okokuqala.....; okwesibini.....

d. South Africa: abantu bathetha isiXhosa, isiSutu, isiNgisi, Isibhulu

okokuqala.....; okwesibini.....

e. Abantu bavela eEast London okanye abantu bavela eRhawuteni okanye abantu bavela eThekwini

Which groups of people do you feel happy with or share things in common with? (Choose 2)

a. People in Port St Johns :

i. at the Care Centre, ii. at Church, iii. at school, iv. boys at the beach, v. tourists

First Choice Second Choice

b. Your Home :

i. your peers, ii. church brethren, iii. parents, iv. teachers at school, v. homestead elders, vi. brothers and sisters

1st 2nd

c. The Transkei: AmaXhosa traditionalists, AmaKits(Buppies), Christians

1st..... 2nd

d. South Africa :

i. Xhosa-speaking, ii. Sotho-speaking, iii. English-speaking or iv. Afrikaans-speaking people.

1st..... 2nd

e. i. People from East London ii. people from Johannesburg iii. people from Durban

Change in religious orientation.

12. Ngaba kukho ukufa, isifo okanye into embi eyakwe hlelayo eyenza uguquke kwinkolelo zakho?
a. Ewe okanye b. hayi.
Has death or anything bad been experienced by someone close to you to cause you to think of changing your beliefs?
a. Yes or b. No
13. Wakha wagula okanye wehlelwa yinto embi eyakwenza wazibona usengciphekweni wokufa?
a. Ewe okanye b. Hayi.
Have you ever faced a situation through illness or exposure to danger, in which, (for at least 1 day) you thought you might die.
a. Yes or b. No
14. Ngaba kukho izinto ezibalulekileyo okanye okholelwa kuzo ezitshintshileyo kule minyaka mibini nemine edluleyo?
a. Ewe okanye b. Hayi
Have your beliefs or the things that are, for you, important in life changed over the last few years?
a. Yes or b. No
15. Ukuba kujalo, ngaba lento yenzeka (a.) ngequbuliso okanye, (b.) lathatha ixesha ukwenzeka?
If so, did this take place (a.) suddenly or (b.) gradually over a period of time?

Psychological Tension.

16. Ngaba kuyenzeka okokuba uzive unomsindo, kodwa ungaqalwanga mntu?
a. Ewe okanye b. Hayi.
Do you sometimes feel angry but for no apparent reason.
a. Yes or b. No
17. Ukuba ewe, wenza ntoni ukze uphele umsindo?
If, yes, what do you do to relieve the anger?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Relevance of Traditional African practices

18. Ucinga ukuba akulunganga ungakulandela indlela zamasiko athi umtwana awafundiswe ekhaya xa asemncinci?
a. akulunganga b. akukhonto
Do you believe you will experience misfortune if you ignore(forget) your ancestors.
a. Yes, it is wrong b. No, it does not matter
19. Kulungile ukunga wahoyi amasiko nezithethe zakokwenu?
a. uyavuma b. awuvumi
It okay not to perform the customary traditions that you were taught as a child.
a. Agree b. Disagree

Corporate Political Identity

20. Ngaba unomdla kwimibutho yopolitiko elwela inkululeko?

a. Ewe okanye b. Hayi.

Have you ever found yourself being attracted to political organisations which talk of bringing about liberation for the oppressed?

a. Yes or b. No

Value Significant Aggregations

21. Ngabaphi abantu abathe bakunceda ukuba wazi ezigqibeni zakho okulungileyo nokungalunga kwaba balandelayo?

	HAYI	EWE-kakulu	EWE-kancinci
a. izizalwane zakho			
b. ootishala eziskolweni			
c. inkokheli zopolitiko			
d. umfundisi wenkonzo			
e. umntu omdala kokwenu			
owenza amasiko okhayo			
f. abahlobo esiskolweni			
g. wena isiqu sakho			

Have the following people influenced you in deciding what is good and bad in your life?

	No	Yes-greatly	Yes-moderately
a. members of your family			
b. teachers at school			
c. political leaders			
d. church leaders			
e. elders who preserve			
the traditional customs			
f. your friends at school			
g. you yourself			

22. Dwelisa ezi zinto zilandelayo ngkokuzthanda kwakho

ikholwa elibhulu; ixhosa elingumzion; Ladysmith Black Mambazo; Michael Jackson; UmZimbabwe osisityebi ongumhambi; umMelika osisityebi ongumhambi; isinxibo saseAfrika; isinxibo iSuit ne Tie; umculo wevangeli; Reggae; iTishala enguMganga; iTishala eliBritani; ixhwele; ugqira

Arrange the following picture cards in order according to which you have more in common with?

an Afrikaans Christian; a Xhosa Zionist; Ladysmith Black Mambazo; Michael Jackson; a wealthy Zimbabwean tourist; a wealthy American tourist; a person wearing modern Africanist dress; person wearing a suit and tie; gospel music; reggae; a Ghanaian teacher; British teacher traditional medical practitioner; modern doctor

Early Religious Orientation.

23. Yeyiphi indlela enikholelwa kuye ekhaya kezi zilandelayo?

a. indlela yenkolo zesintu zamaXhosa

okanye

b. inkolo yamaKrestu

okanye

c. anikholelwa nakwenye kwezi

okanye

d. nzenza zombini

Ukuba zombini, yeyiphi enikholelwa kuyo kakhulu?

What is/was your religious background?

a. *Traditional AmaXhosa ways and beliefs*

b. *Christian ways and beliefs*

c. *Neither*

d. *Both*

If both, which is more dominant (in your view)

24. Uyakuthanda ukuhlala phi xa sele ugugile? a. Ezilalini okanye b. edolophini enkulu?

Where would you prefer to stay in your old age? a. A rural village or b. a city?

Identity significant aggregations

25. Xa uxelela umntu ngawe ungathi ungubani khetha kula magama amane alandelayo abe nawe? (keta 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th)

a. ungathi umgu South African

b. umAfrika

c. umTranskei

d. umXhosa

e. uyinkwenkwe or umfana

f. umntu omnyama

g. umfundi

h. ungumlandeli we-National soccer team

i. ilungu lo mbutho, e.g. COSAS, ANCYL

j. ilungu le Church choir

k. Mpondo, Tembu, Bhaca etc.

l. ungachaza isiduko sakho

If you were to describe yourself to someone, which of the following nouns would use to describe yourself? (Indicate 1st choice, 2nd , 3rd, and 4th.)

a. *a South African*

b. *an African*

c. *a Transkeian*

d. *umXhosa*

e. *a young man/ boy*

f. *Black*

g. *student*

h. *a supporter of national soccer team*

i. *a member of an organisation such as COSAS, ANCYL*

j. *A member of a Church choir*

k. *Mpondo, Tembu, Bhaca etc*

l. *Clan name*

Aspirant Aggregations

26. Sesiphi isikhundla onqwenela ukuba kuso kwezi zilandelayo ngenye imini ? (Keta 3)

- a. unontlalontle
- b. umfundisi
- c. itisthala
- d. ugqirha
- e. igqwetha
- f. inkosi yamampondo
- g. uSomashishini omkhulu eRhawutini okanye eMtata
- h. inkokheli yezopolitiko
- i. inkokheli wemibutho yabasebenzi (Trade Union leader)
- j. umntu uphangela eBankini
- k. umdlali ohlawulwayo webhola ekhatywayo ujengo uMax Maponyane
- l. ilungu le Church Choir

Which of the following positions would you like to hold one day? (Choose 3 and indicate 1st, 2nd, 3rd options)

USE PICTURES

- a. a social worker
- b. priest
- c. teacher
- d. doctor (G.P)
- e. lawyer
- f. leader of a cultural music group like Amapondo
- g. a big businessperson
- h. a political leader
- i. a trade unionist
- j. a banker
- k. a professional soccer player like Max Maponyane
- l. a church choir singer

Positive or Negative feelings about Life.

27. Bonisa ukuba uyavumelana okanye awuvumelani nezi zimvo zilandelayo

- a. kwixesha lakudala, okhokho bethu babehleli kakuhle, befuyile iinkomo, neebhokhwe, belima umhlaba, behlutha uyavuma okanye awuvumi
- b. kulemihla impilo ingcno kunakungala uyavuma okanye awuvumi
- c. kwixesha elizayo impilo iya kuba ngcono kakhulu nabantu baya kuphila ixesha elide uyavuma okanye awuvumi

Indicate in each case whether you agree or disagree with the statement.

a. *In the days in the distant past things were really good. Our fore-fathers had plenty of cattle, goats and food. They were satisfied.*

Agree or disagree

b. *These days we are better off.*

agree or disagree

c. *In the future things will be much better and people will live for a very long time.*

28.Imibuzo ebhekuselele entlalweni uva kunjani ukuhlala kwezindawo zilandelayo:

	Andazi-	kubi-	nguncono-	kakuhle
Mfesane/ Jubilee Hall				
PSJ/estratweni eMtata				
Transkei				
South Africa				
World				
ubomi bakho				

The questions I will now ask are about how you feel about life around you.

	Not know -	bad -	okay -	good
<i>Mfesane/ Jubilee Hall</i>				
<i>PSJ/ street life in Umtata</i>				
<i>Transkei</i>				
<i>South Africa</i>				
<i>World</i>				
<i>Your life</i>				

29. Ubona njani malunga netshinthsho elubhekisele kwizinto ezilungileyo kwesindawo zilandelayo:

	Akhondlela	ikhona kancinci	ikhona kakhulu
Mfesane/Jubilee			
PSJ/ eMtata			
Transkei			
South Africa			
The world			
ubomi bakho			

What are the chances of changing things for the better in :

No chance

a small chance

a great chance

Mfesane/ Jubilee			
PSJ/Umtata			
Transkei			
South Africa			
The world			
Your life			

30. Ucinga lemibutho inganceda kakhulu kangakanani ukuguqula ilizwe lakho?

Hayi

Ewe-kakulu

Ewe-kancinci

a. uRhulumente			
b. imibutho ye-ANC			
c. imibutho yonthalontle (umz. Catholic welfare)			
d. iCawa			
e. uTixo			

Can the following greatly help make your life better?

No

Yes, greatly

Yes, slightly

a. the government			
b. the ANC			
c. welfare organisations			
d. Church			
e. God			

Sacrifice of the present texture of life.

31. Ukuba ndingumzali ndiwina R10 000.

31.1 Ndizothengela abatwana bakho izinto abazifunayo ngelo xesha.

Uyavuma okanye Awuvumi

31.2 Ndizoyigcina le mali ukuze Ndizosebenzise kwimfundo yabo kwixa elizayo.

Uyavuma okanye Awuvumi

31. If as a parent I won R 10 000.

31.1 I would buy my children the things they need now.

Agree or Disagree

31.2 I would invest this money in their future education?

Agree or Disagree

33. Xa unoku wina R40 000 ungenza ntoni ngemali?

a. ungayichitha yonke ngokwenza ithako (iparty) elide lemphela inyanga.

okanye

b. ungayichitha intwana kwizinto ozidingayo ngoku, ukuze inxeenye uyigcine de ugqibe izifundo zakho

okanye

c. ungayigcina uze uthenge itaxi khonukuze uqale ukushishina endaweni yakho.

okanye

d. ungayigcina eluvallelweni eBhankini kuphela.

If you were to win R 40 000 what would you do with it?

a. spend it all by having a month long party

b. spend a little on things you need now and save the rest until you have completed your studies.

c. save it until you are able to buy a taxi and start a business in your area.

d. save it in the bank

34. Umbuzo olandelayo uthetha ngabantu abanembono ezahlukeyo ngezinto ezibalulekileyo ngobom.

Kwabantu balandelayo ketha abalungileyo, nabalungileyo kakhulu okanye nabangalunganga, nabangalunganga kakhulu

a. uLunga ngumtu olungileyo; usebenza nzima; akaseli akatshayi; Akazange abenatyala. Kodwa akadibaniselanga nokungena kwingxaki ze Community zakhe acinga ukuba azidibani naye. Akayi kwintlanganiso ze Politiko.

b. uSimphiwe ukholelwa ukuba imfundo ibalulekile. uFumana izifundo zakhe ebusuku e-UNITRA. Akakwazi ukwenza umsebenzi wakhe wobutitshala ngenxa yokudinwa. Ngaphezu koko akayikhathelanga intsapho yakhe.

c. uMandla ngusomashishini. Usebenze nzima ukwakha ishishini lakhe levenkile. Ukhathalela intsapho yakhe. Uhlala endlwini enkulu kwaye une moto ezintathu. Abantwana bakhe baya esikolweni esiduru. Akababhatali abasebenzi bakhe kakuhle. Akazi thandi izinto ze Politiki.

d. uThembinkosi ngunothlalontle. Usebenza ijure ezinde enceda abantu abahlubhekileyo. Usoloko esezintlanganisweni ze Community ebusuku. Akachithi ixesha elaneleyo nentsapho. Akayibanike imali yokutya.

e. uXolani ubenosebenzi omhle ngengeqehetha waze wangehlala umbutho ozabalazela inkululekhko yabantu basenzantsi Afrika. Ushye inkosikhazi yakhe nomtwana ekhaya kwaye ichitha imali yakhe namantombazane (krexzane). *krexzane*

The next question describes people who have different views about the important things in life. State whether you think each in your view is good, very good or a bad, very bad person.

a. Lunga works hard. He does not drink alcohol or smoke. He makes sure that he never gets into debt. And is honest. He does not care about community problems as long as they do not affect him. He avoids politics.

b. Simphiwe believes education is important. He is studying part time at UNITRA and attending night classes. As a result he is often too tired to do his job as a teacher properly. And he neglects his family.

c. Mandla is a businessman. He has worked hard at building up his supermarket. He cares for his family. They live in a big house and have three cars. His children go to private schools. He does not care for the community. And he avoids politics.

d. Thembinkosi is a social worker. Works long hours helping the poor. He is often out late at night at civic meetings. He spends little time at home with his family. And neglects to meet their basic material needs.

e. Xolani has sacrificed a good career as a lawyer. He has joined a liberation movement struggling for political freedom for the people of South Africa. He has left his wife and child and tends to womanize.

7.3 Some Preliminary Findings

In the process of conducting fieldwork to formulate and pre-test the questionnaire a number of preliminary, general observations were made. These are summarised below.

One youth I interviewed has clearly assimilated (or tries his level best to imitate Western Christian values promoted in the Home). The local Full Gospel Church of God has become for him, and others who have adopted a similar position, a significant aggregation. A prerequisite for inclusion in this social grouping is that the members distance themselves from African traditional beliefs and practices and associate themselves with Western Pentecostal/Charismatic theology and practice with its emphasis on "other-worldliness" and a pietistic mode of belonging to Ultimate Reality. The same youth's family, however, is conservative and traditional. He visits his family regularly during the school vacation.

Then there are those who regard being African and retaining an African cultural heritage as pivotal in their sense of self. Simultaneously, however, they describe themselves as being Christian but in a more general manner as they do not identify with the particular form of Christianity associated with the Full Gospel Church mentioned above.

Most if not all of those interviewed associated themselves with a wide range of modern rational material values. Some, however, singled economic values and symbols out as being primary aspirant values.

I found the youths choice of music seemed to correspond with their values and aggregations significant in their identity. Choice of music, thus, served as one of the many indicators in mapping the youths values.

The youths who give prominence, in their identity make-up, to being Christian prefer church choir singing and Gospel music to any other types of popular music. Those who

prioritize being African enjoy more indigenous traditional music. One youth singled out reggae music with its emphasis on "Africa" and "freedom" and "unity of the oppressed". Others who modelled themselves on "buppie" (black up and coming urban professional) symbols with its modern material culture enjoy American and South African popular commercial music.

Questionnaire ONE gives one a general idea as to the more prominent values and dominant aggregations in the youths identity make-up. It does not, however, expose the complexities of struggling to hold together the contradictions associated with living in a situation of competing worldviews.

Section 8 which follows focuses on developing an instrument to locate these contradictory elements.

8. Some Non-negotiable Paradigmatic Symbols³⁶

In this section the ideal-typical worldviews, Modern Rational Material, Western Christian and Homestead Centred, are examined more closely. These worldviews represent, more or less, actual worldviews the youths in the Home are exposed to in their life experience.

Reference has been made to the tension between Homestead Centred Worldview, and Modern Rational Material and/or Western Christian worldviews where they co-exist as orientations of action. Such a vague notion does not however, enable one to come to grips with the problem which is rooted in the coexistence of un-mediated contradictory symbol sets at an individual and social level. The non-negotiable paradigmatic symbols within worldviews, thus, need to be articulated. This will serve as an indicator to determine the real life circumstances in which an individual will experience a critical point, where non-negotiable and incompatible, symbols are in conflict. The location, or absence, of experienced critical points will further refine the process of worldview mapping as it will reflect the nature of the co-existence of paradigmatic symbol sets for an individual. Strategies people adopt in everyday life which mediate between the conflicting symbol sets can then be identified and serve, at least, as examples to inform the process of renegotiating identity and reconstituting a coherent unified symbolised sense of reality.

Homestead Centred, Modern Rational Material and Western Christian worldviews are intricately bound up with certain fundamental cognitions and beliefs about both physical and human reality. From these cognitions, values are derived which guide not only people's action in the physical world but, which also provide the foundations for

³⁶. Certain paradigm specific symbols are incompatible and non-negotiable in that to reject them is to reject the paradigm.

the social order people find themselves in. At this level Modern Rational Material and Western Christian worldviews are similar.

People not only draw on worldview or worldviews to give meaning to experienced reality but the social context they find themselves in reflects a worldview and elements of other worldviews. Social order in rural villages in the Transkei reflects a Homestead centred worldview³⁷. The socio-cultural regime in the Children's Home and social environment reflects a Modern Rational Materialist worldview³⁸ and offers a idealistic Western Christian model of reality. The broader rural Transkei, subject to development strategies, is being re-orientated according to Modern Rational Material culture. The diffusion of Modern Rational Material culture in rural areas will continue as economic development is prioritized.

It is worth noting the link between development and Modern Rational Material culture as it will serve to illustrate that worldview plays a central role in everyday, taken-for-granted meaning and behaviour.

³⁷. In all probability a purely or exclusive Homestead Centred Worldview does not exist. It is possible that in an undisturbed state of existence such a worldview meaningfully made sense of the experience of reality. But, as worldview in the long-run corresponds with people's experience of reality, it remains dynamic, reflecting changes in the socio-cultural and physical environments. It would therefore be inaccurate to see traditional worldview of Pre-Colonial Africa as undisturbed and static. Evidence suggests that rapid changes in the physical environment had a significant effect on worldview. Socio-cultural disturbance with the expansion of colonialism and Western Civilization in South Africa most definitely triggered changes the traditional indigenous worldview. Hodgson (RSA, vol.6, no.2, 1985:11-36), describes social change and socio-cultural disturbance when locating Nxele (who lived from about 1780-1820) in an historical context as well as early signs of the appropriation of Western Christian symbols in an African Tradition. She refers to "a time when Xhosa society was coming under increasing pressure from within as well as without." Hodgson cites three contributing factors. These are: The Xhosa-Cape Frontier wars which lasted a hundred years; stress within their own ranks ... manifested in the dynastic feud between Ngqika, paramount chief of western Xhosa, and Ndlambe, his uncle and former regent"(ibid.:11); "The beginnings of missionary work among them added to the internal pressure as the introduction of a new way of life and new beliefs and practices threatened the basic structures"(ibid). The pace of change was not yet great enough to threaten social cohesion and the authority of the tradition but it did give rise to the appropriation of new sources of power to explain and control a new situation. Thus, indicating changes within traditional worldview which reflected changes in the socio-cultural experience the adherents.

³⁸. Notwithstanding the momentous transformations of Western culture and the new forms it takes in a dynamic African context there remain certain fundamental characteristics which can be identified as Modern Rational Material in orientation.

Development and Modern Rational Material Culture.

Underlying development and the prioritizing of economic development in South Africa, is also a fundamental set of values. Irrespective of whether a Liberal Bourgeois and Marxian model of development³⁹ guides the development elite's policies, a Modern Rational Material culture is the underlying orientation. Fruzzetti and Ostor (1990) note that "[b]oth theories share the values of the European enlightenment, and the implications of the 19th century emergence of the "economy" and the economic domain with economic rationality (the desire to maximise benefits over costs) becoming a dominant feature in human behaviour⁴⁰.

Both are inheritors of a long-standing Western intellectual concern with progress. The roots of this passion for progress are found in the Western European belief-system. This integrated a Judaic-Voluntarist conception of humankind, a Christian eschatological view of history and an Aristotelian notion of imminent change. The evolution of this concern for progress came into its own with the dominance of science and technology and the spread of industrialization in Western Europe from the 1700's onwards (Wiener, 1973:633f). The focus of much human effort was devoted to the conquest of humans over nature, with the resultant improvement in material conditions of life and economic and political power.

This set in motion the inevitable yet "man"-made betterment through the ages and sponsored an enduring sense of **historical destiny** and **human purpose** that became one of the more stable elements of the European cultural tradition (ibid).

³⁹. Hoogvelt (1982:10) argues that there are two broad scientific theories of development: liberal and Marxist. She points out that although there have been attempts to classify development models as conservative, reformist and radical, she believes "... that to date there are still only two opposing theoretical paradigms that are utilised to make economic realities intelligible. There are the liberal theories of growth and the Marxist theories of imperialism".

⁴⁰. I will not provide a history of Modern Rational Material culture which can be found in Taylor (1989) who traces the history of Modern identity in detail. Some fundamental aspects thereof are, however, mentioned here.

With Christianity and, more particularly, the Protestant Reformation the wider cultural value system in Europe was orientated towards **Rational Action** in the world. This involved the **explicit definition of goals** and the increasingly precise calculation of the most effective means to achieve them; in contrast to traditionalism and habit which previously governed behaviour.

This central principle in a Western Christian cultural system has its beginnings in the adoption of **metaphysical dualism**, the notion of a **transcendent God**, which promoted the secularisation of both science and society (Singer, 1959:239). The fundamental reorientation toward **"ultimate reality"** can be associated with Galileo's mathematisation of hypotheses about nature (ibid: 250). Underlying Galileo's scientific attitude was the conception of the world as an interplay of calculable forces and measurable bodies (ibid:247). Mechanical principles were seen to rule the movements of planets, the changes on earth and the structure of the tiniest insect like (ibid:252). This conception of the world was clearly a major shift from the Aristotelian-Christian worldview which dominated the Middle Ages which saw the structure of the universe as fixed and unitary in character, and which had a profoundly divine order in which all bodies, heavenly, and terrestrial had their designated place in the hierarchy (ibid:257, 258). The heavenly bodies were seen to be more 'perfect' than the terrestrial bodies, and changes undergone by bodies on earth (i.e all phenomena in human life) were held to be paralleled and controlled by movements in the heaven above (ibid: 166). In such a worldview there could be no ultimate distinction between physical events, moral truths and spiritual experiences (ibid:167). Galileo, in contrast, set in motion a differentiation between spiritual universe and the world of natural phenomena which was fully achieved in the work of Newton (ibid:257). This differentiation is referred to as secularisation. This value system found its legitimising religious basis in the reorientation towards **Ultimate Reality** as formulated in the Reformation.

I now turn to a more specific discussion of the non-negotiable paradigmatic symbols in Modern Rational Material worldview which are incompatible with certain non-negotiable symbols in Homestead Centred worldview.

I use Cumpsty's categories to consider these elements which are in conflict. Cumpsty (1991:175) argues that there are three fundamentally ideal answers to the question : "What is all-that-out-there?" which are meaningful. He speaks of "THE THREE LOGICALLY COHERENT TYPES OF RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS"⁴¹. I am interested in "Immediate World Affirming Religion" (IWA), and "Secular World Affirming Religion" (SWA). These theoretical constructs, reductionist as they may be, are necessary analytical tools.

Homestead Centred Worldview is Immediate World Affirming and Modern Rational Materialist and Western Christian Worldviews are Secular World Affirming.

In IWA experience of the immediate world-out-there is affirmed as real. The immediate environment of people is at once both real and ultimately real. The here-and-now and that which is continuous with it, both visible and invisible, is real. Reality is thus, in IWA monistic and the cosmos is considered a closed system of cause and effect which can be manipulated for advantage or disadvantage.

In SWA worldviews the immediate world-out-there is affirmed as real but not the ultimately real. "... [T]hey place the full availability of the divine in [a]... future time when experience will be fully acceptable and affirmable as that to which they would belong ultimately. Because this ultimately real already exists, it is also modelled as being presently 'above' or otherwise spatially removed." (ibid. 178). There is a dichotomy in reality. There is a **now** and a **not yet**, a **this** and a **that** which transcends it. The issue which marks its incompatibility with immediate world affirming religion

⁴¹. There is a basic underlying assumption that people have a felt sense of an ultimately real and feel the need to belong to the minimally conceptualised ultimately real. And that there will always be moves to maintain a unified sense of the real.

concerns availability. The essence of transcendence is that the reality to which one would belong ultimately is not now fully available and that which is now fully available is not that to which one would belong ultimately. "Once the transcendence symbol has been established it creates its own sense of not-yet-ness, but it would only arise and could survive in an experience which renders major involvement with a future goal desirable and its fulfillment credible" (ibid.188). What is looked for, in the ideal, is that future point in time at which this and that which transcends it will come together. Modern Rational Material worldview, as an actual worldview, does not necessarily have a well articulated "religious" understanding of "not-yet-ness" but it is clearly dualistic in its orientation. One ideal consequence of this view of reality is the separation of the "sacred" and "secular".

A **critical point** is reached for people who have experienced reality as monistic when the WOT becomes increasingly unacceptable, the correspondence between reality and symbolised reality decreases and a dualistic tradition is on hand.

The logical and necessary consequence of each experience of the immediate world-out-there and conceptualisation of reality is a view of the nature of the ultimately real, the mode of belonging to the ultimately real, time, the test of the quality of life experience, and mode of engagement with the world-out-there.

In SWA worldview the ultimately-real, where it is articulated, is personal and belonging is something that has to be sought individually. In IWA belonging is not sought but assumed, i.e, there is no need to belong to something out-there as this is a given. And, fragmentation and disharmony are seen to be a temporary existential experience associated with sickness and the need for restoration of wholeness. The practice of medicine and religion are one and the same. The institutions of healing and religion are the same. In HCW the ultimately real or the powers-that-be are experienced as a vital force pervading all of life. A sense of the divine is felt in the natural order.

In IWA there is no concern with beginnings and ends. IWA, with a pre-occupation with pastoral and agricultural concerns dominated by the seasonal changes, has a cyclical (or at least rhythmical) notion of time. In SWA time is seen as a linear progression with a beginning and a future destiny⁴². In SWA time is a linear progression.

The criteria used to test the acceptability of experience and quality of life in a cyclical time worldview is the present texture which is immediately sought. Whereas in the goal-orientated worldview one is concerned about longer term goals and hence one is prepared to sacrifice in the short and medium term something of the texture of life for some gain in texture in the longer term. The quality of present life experience is evaluated in terms of the contribution to a longer term goals. One generation, for example, sacrifices something of the present texture of life (material comforts) so that a next generation might benefit (an educational investment of financial resources).

A **critical point** is reached when for example when a person, who has a IWA, is faced with the need to sacrifice the present texture of life if a future gain is to be made. Present action is orientated by the goal of future satisfaction. This is the case when a family sacrifices present material well-being that a child may have education and only the distant future will the benefits be reaped and not necessarily by the party who sacrificed in the first instance.

The mode of engagement with the world-out-there in HCW involves fitting into the grand pattern and rhythms of the natural order and maintaining harmony. An individual feels he/she has a sense of worthwhileness by fitting into the pattern of life.

In SWA the mode of engagement with the world-out-there is to "take hold and shape", to manipulate it in accordance with the perceived divine purpose (the purpose of the

⁴². One may expect the early Boer/Afrikaner farmer, for example, to have had cyclical notion of time due to his preoccupation with seasonal changes but this is subject to a linear time line dictated by the Western Christian view of the ultimately real.

grand design). An individual sense of value is associated with being in accordance with the divine purpose.

A **critical point** is reached, for someone drawing on a IWA, when the status quo is experienced as highly unacceptable over an extended period and there is a strong desire to change the order of things and usher in a new order motivated by an ideal or set of ideals.

Cumpsty (1991:196) points out that "[s]ignificant social values arise out of the character assigned to the ultimately-real and the manner of belonging to it, and also out of the consequences of these symbols for social involvement".

One relevant social feature of IWA is that it is essentially communal. The individual belongs to the ultimately-real by belonging to a community which include both the living and departed. Belonging is focused on more immediate social parameters, e.g the homestead. Here the family and extended family, including the departed, are located. Belonging is felt by fitting into what is perceived to be the natural hierarchy. For example, in a situation where longer term goals do not govern the immediate existence and, therefore specialization in terms of these goals is not available, identity is dependent upon present relationships and their history. Where and what one comes from is central to identity. A person's attitudes to life are mainly determined by her or his knowledge of the history of the family and/or clan. (Cumpsty, 1991)

In SWA there is a corporate aspect but there is a great deal of emphasis on the individual independent of community. And belonging is secured by **joining** a community.

A **critical point** is reached when, for example, a person with a Homestead Centred background finds him/herself in a situation where his/her job requires being senior to a much older person. The perceived natural hierarchy based on age is threatened. The person's response will either confirm the value of this order or reject it and defy the

essence of the traditional elements which provide social cohesion, e.g. prescribed relationships and behaviour patterns. If the individual opts for the latter, identity may be threatened unless a substitute symbol set which promotes this behaviour is embraced.

Another critical situation is presented when loyalty to family is competes with loyalty to the principle of economic rationality. Do people employ the best person for job or give their family/community network priority?

The "unpacking" of some of the fundamental building blocks and non-negotiable symbols of the Homestead Centred, Modern Rational Material and Western Christian worldviews enables one to identify in a particular multi-worldview situation (ex-street children in a Children's Home) the expected areas of tension. Out of this one is able to assess where the youths are in terms of their worldview, what processes (e.g. containment, allocation, bridging) will be needed to integrate the individuals worldview and sense of self, and prepare him for reincorporation in a community in the Transkei and wider society⁴³.

⁴³. The counseling role of the interventionist involves providing options and the facilitation of the individual's re-entry into society, able to meet his physical and socio-psychological needs. The possibilities of a sense alienation or anomie are high if the identity issues raised are not dealt with.

9. Strategies people adopt in the quest for an integrated identity

In this section I consider the manner in which some people, in rural Transkei, faced with socio-cultural change, have renegotiated their worldview and identity to secure a unified felt sense of WOT and a felt sense of belonging to WOT.

I have focused on the identity and worldview of the individual so far. The question "Who I am?", and the mirror therefore: "What is all that out there?," is a concern with an integrated felt sense of self and unified symbolised felt sense of WOT and a sense of belonging to it. It is the social dimension of this enterprise, however, which is most observable. It reflects the ongoing process of symbolic construction and negotiation out of which corporate identity emerges.

Strategies people adopt in the quest for integrated identity are, thus, most observable in corporate action.

Containment strategies.

As long as it is physically and psychologically possible for people to draw on conflicting orientations of action, e.g. Homestead Centred and Modern Rational Material worldviews, simultaneously, the co-existence of incompatible paradigmatic symbols will probably not be felt as conflicting or anxiety-provoking.

This is possible in cases of low levels of socio-cultural disturbance with the gradual increase in "alien" cultural elements in an indigenous socio-cultural context. At a corporate level a gradual process of symbolic renegotiation takes place to give meaning to a social situation that has changed sufficiently to threaten the identity of the affected community but not so much that the traditional symbolic regime cannot be rearranged to cater for the new symbolic material. The traditional symbolic and ritual sub-sets

encapsulate the intruding elements of the "incoming culture", and rearrange the traditional, "established" symbolised felt sense of reality (including worldview) to contain the "alien" cultural material. Such a **containment strategy** neutralises what would otherwise threaten corporate identity and sense of belonging to the world-out-there.

I illustrate this with an example. It draws on the anthropological research, of McAllister, which focuses on a particular grouping of traditional, conservative Xhosa-speaking people ("Red" people⁴⁴) who, in the face of significant social change, have militantly resisted Western cultural influences and retained a traditional identity from the days of the ox-wagon to the pocket calculator, from the late 1800's⁴⁵ to the late 1970s. The fieldwork for his study was conducted among "Red" Gcaleka living in Shixini administrative area in the Willowvale district. The people, he notes, are representative of much of Willowvale and of "Red" Xhosa-speaking people generally (ibid. 206).

McAllister (1980:205) examines "...the ways in which the Gcaleka view and have adapted to large scale, oscillating labour migration, by looking at the 'meaning' of such migration for the people involved. This includes an analysis of the extent to which labour migration has been integrated into the rural value system and social structure". His overall aim is to attempt "to dismantle the 'webs of significance' that Gcaleka have spun around labour migration, and also to ask why they were constructed at all." (ibid)

One would think that the "Red" ideology (with its Homestead Centred Worldview) which had developed in a strictly rural context, relatively isolated from Western

⁴⁴. Hunter (1961) and Mayer (1971 & 1980) refer to "Red" and "School" sub-cultures amongst Xhosa-speaking people. The "Red" and "School" rural ideologies are two attitudes to change and responses to white political and economic domination which can be expressed as: equal co-operation (of the School people) versus exclusiveness (of the Red people); assimilation (by the School people) versus "Black consciousness" (practiced by the Red people) (Mayer, 1980).

⁴⁵. The "Red" ideology became a conscious strategy against Western influences and for the maintenance of a traditional identity with the increased encroachment of agents of Western culture in areas occupied by Xhosa-speaking people in the latter half of the 1800's.

cultural influences, would have disintegrated once its adherents experienced the modern Western context of their work-place as migrant labourers in the city. "Red" migrant workers were, undoubtedly, exposed to the influences of urban secularism and consumerism, the popular ideologies of industrialism. The "Red" identity and worldview was threatened by migrant labour and, yet, continuity in attitude and behaviour between the rural backwoods and urban metropolis was clearly evident, even in the late 1970's.

In the city the "Red" migrants dressed differently and kept apart from fellow migrant labourers and townspeople who were more "western" in their life-styles (Mayer, 1971:23f). Great care was taken in spending money on "impahla yomlungu" (things of the white person). A form of consumer asceticism was practiced. Only that which was absolutely necessary and which benefited the homestead was purchased.

McAllister (1980) shows that the homestead, in its appearance, technology, and human relations remained extremely conservative, and that the men's participation in the capitalist secular economy was skillfully interpreted to fit into their Homestead Centred framework.

The adherents of the "Red" ideology had succeeded in weaving into a single coherent system of ideas two distinctly different sets of imperatives. The traditional indigenous religious practice of "ukwakha umzi" (building up the homestead)⁴⁶ and reproducing the homestead relations of production remained a key feature. The economically active males (homestead heads and their sons) had to endure the hardships of migrant labour (the denial of human rights and exploitation) for sake of the homestead. The city experience was symbolically interpreted as military service, a "rite of passage", which a young man had to undergo in order to marry, to build up the homestead,

⁴⁶. The establishing of the umzi meant the reproduction of homestead social relations, e.g the relations between parents and children, and the confirming of the role of the elder men folk. This involved ritual practices on which, for example, the sons' immediate and future welfare depended. This also meant guarding the young men's interest in land and cattle and the protection of the dignity of the women folk.

maintain his family and accumulate cattle. The ancestral shades perceived interest in their descendants' migratory activities and good fortune whilst in the city was tied to the migrant labourer obtaining cash to return and build the homestead. Complex "rites of departure" and purification rites on returning were part and parcel of the ritualization of migrant labour among the "Red" Xhosa-speaking people.

McAllister (ibid) goes into detail description of the various rites and symbolic meanings. It will suffice to mention the association of the workplace and the city with going to "war". The rites of departure ensure safety of a man whilst away and the rites of return are standardized rites and symbolic action offered to the ancestors as thanksgiving for his safe return. In so doing the man's good standing in the community and with the ancestors is assured (ibid).

Thus, we see that the experience of the city is incorporated and subject to the paramountcy of the homestead. The "Red" migrant labourer's working life outside the community is not meaningful nor fully real part from it being a means to an end, namely, the homestead.

I now consider the above within the theoretical frame developed earlier.

The relative isolation of the rural villages, the ad hoc nature of the urban experience⁴⁷, the undesirability thereof and other less obvious factors led to a dual social experience. The material base and socio-cultural experience in the rural village confirmed the Homestead centred religio-cultural system⁴⁸ whilst the industrial work-place subjected the labourers to values and institutions of Modern Rational Material culture.

The interpretation and appropriation of the undesirable, yet essential, migrant labour experience, in terms of the Homestead meant that the "Red" ideology was

⁴⁷. Later this was formalized in South African Government labour policies and influx control legislation which meant a continuous back and forth shuttling between the rural and urban areas.

⁴⁸. Agents and symbols of Western culture were the odd trading stores, with their consumer commodities, and mission stations which were few and far between.

renegotiated. One possible explanation for this is in terms of the quest for identity and belonging in what was otherwise a most disturbing socio-cultural experience. It provided a way of holding together meaningfully two very different experiences.

Cumpsty (1991) notes, regarding the affect of significant identity threatening social change on religious traditions that "[a]s one moves up the spectrum toward unacceptability, there will be moves to modify the unacceptable and then integrate that which cannot be modified."

The process of religio-cultural symbolic engineering to incorporate a socially necessary, but totally unacceptable, experience into a community's worldview so as to neutralise the threat to corporate identity is referred to as containment.

Another example might be the containment of linear time, goal orientated module within an immediate experience affirming, communal worldview and ritual.

Containment is an appropriate strategy if the amount of foreign symbolic material admitted to the system is small. It is, however, not appropriate if the amount of foreign material is more substantial. When a situation of competing worldviews exists. Where people's socio-cultural experience reflects competing socio-cultural orders they draw on competing symbol sets to give meaning to the WOT as they experience it. Other options need to be explored.

Allocating and Mediating Strategies.

The elements drawn from the different sets of symbolised sense of reality (incompatible worldviews) may co-exist in an uneasy tension, or they may be somehow **allocated** to their own life space. People may well come to inhabit multiple worlds on a more or less permanent basis. Individuals would adhere to different symbol sets in different compartments of life (ibid:420). One set might serve the need to belong to the wider community, while another might serve the needs of family and local community,

still another might serve the needs of production and other forms of work (ibid). Cumpsty notes that mechanism of integration in a "non-linear worldview" beyond that of allocation are unnecessary, as there is a presumption of unity in the background. Chinese tradition, it is said, has had little or no problem in embracing different religions for different aspects of life. One would expect to find, in this case, a hidden meta-religion in which time is non-linear to be sufficiently dominant to **maintain the sense of unity and thus a sense of belonging.**

In situations where worldviews of different paradigmatic types co-exist⁴⁹ the development of "bridging myths" or the embracing of "bridging symbols" is a possible means of integration. The purpose of the bridging or mediating symbol⁵⁰ is to hold together as well as can be, the irreconcilable elements. In the long term, where two sets of symbolised reality exist alongside, the mediating symbols may form into a stable mediating paradigm.

Amongst the social, political and religious strategies adopted by people in situations of competing worldviews Zionism is a popular (religious) mediating strategy for renegotiating identity.

Zionist ritual and belief generates mediating symbols which hold together in a single paradigm a Christian ideal worldview and a Homestead Centred worldview.

⁴⁹. For example the co-existence of Homestead Centred Worldview and Modern Rational material Worldview.

⁵⁰. I am not comfortable with the concept of a bridge as it gives the impression that people move from one side to another leaving behind one cultural system for another. This happens at the basic non-negotiables paradigmatic level but people carry a great deal of cultural baggage in the moving process. This is somehow lost in the bridging concept. I am looking for a concept that will capture the idea of a renegotiation of worldview with elements of both cultural systems. Mediation comes to mind.

Zionism as a strategy adopted, by people in a situation of competing worldviews, for re-negotiating identity.

I now consider the analytical comments, concerning the role of Zionist-type churches in urban contexts, found in a number of works I consulted on the topic. I summarise some of these, drawing primarily on West (1975) and Kiernan (1990).

West (1975:195) notes that his research revealed that most of the members of the indigenous churches in Soweto were not migrants but townspeople who were by and large the first generation, mostly elderly and poorly-educated.

Kiernan (1990:213) makes a similar discovery with respect to Zionists in KwaMashu. The overwhelming majority of Zionists are rural-born, having arrived in the city to seek employment, and remaining on as permanent urban settlers (ibid). They have rural roots but live a fully urban life and this is part of their identity (ibid). In KwaMashu the Zionists are amongst the poorest of the poor (ibid: 38-41) and under-educated (ibid:104). They also recruit almost exclusively from an adult population of non-Zionists (ibid: 217).

West (1975) argues that social conditions under which people live in an urban centre, such as Johannesburg, play a major role in making Zionist-type churches attractive to this category of urban dwellers. "People coming to the city have to adjust to a new situation which is radically different from the old..." (ibid) He contrasts the urban with the rural. African people residing in an urban area are, for instance, more insecure than those in the rural areas in terms of tenure. They experience more insecurity in view of the very high incidence of crime compared with rural areas. They lack even the limited "political opportunities" afforded in the Bantustans (ibid: 194). This view focuses on the fact that we are dealing with the most industrialized and urbanized region in Africa in which there is a high turnover of migrant labour from rural to urban areas. Large numbers of people find themselves poor and estranged in unfamiliar

surroundings culturally and socially disorientated and without adequate social institutions to provide for their basic needs. (Kiernan 1990:6)

"What is required in order to adapt to this new and changing situation", in West's view, "are new bases for social organisation, and we should examine the church in this light".

Kokoali and Hodgson (1986:139) note that industrialization and urbanization contribute to the breakdown of social relations and the consequent anomie of the individual. The mainline churches in the townships have, in their view, generally failed to meet the needs of African people which are associated with close community involvement and mutual aid. West (1975:196) further points out that for these people Soweto has few voluntary associations, other than sporting clubs, and few opportunities.

Against this background the indigenous churches play a vital social role as their congregations provide small reference groups in relation to the wider society. The Zionist-type churches, in Soweto have succeeded in providing small caring communities which satisfy a variety of needs in the urban milieu (ibid). They provide members with personal networks in a city where most relationships for the newcomer, as well as for the resident without friends, are of the more impersonal structural or categorical types (West, 1975:199). These personal networks may be very important in helping poor to come to terms with their urban environment" (ibid). In them individuals are secure as part of a small community: they have their assigned places, each has an identity as a church member, and a ready-made group of friends. The group is able to give both moral and material assistance in time of need, and facilitates the adjustment process to city life. West (ibid: 195) concludes that the Zionist-type churches, as new bases for social organisation, cater for the needs of townspeople which were formerly met by rural kin-groups and, thus, play an important role in the adjustment of rural people to radically different urban environment.

In a similar fashion Zionist-type churches in KwaMashu are small group organisations founded on the values of cooperation, sharing and mutual support. The structure of mutual support is substantiated in a very pragmatic way. Individuals in distress can rely on receiving the emotional and material assistance to meet a particular life crisis.

These churches in West's view provide a "blend of old and new which is particularly attractive to the people who join them". The indigenous churches in Soweto contain elements of both "traditional African religious organisation" and "mission churches" (West, 1975:171). Kiernan (1990:123) acknowledges a spectrum of Zionist-type churches and the variety of religious forms exhibited by these churches. "While some may tend more or less towards a revitalizing of indigenous beliefs and rites, there are many others, in all likelihood the majority, which are engaged in the creation of something new by bringing the basic tenets of Christianity into line with African requirements." (ibid).

West (1975:197) observes that the churches in Soweto offer supernatural protection against the "evils" of the city and the outside world. Kiernan (1990:223 & 224) notes that from the Zionist point of view the urban surroundings are rife with sorcery so that the city is not only physically unsafe but mystically dangerous as well. "Debarred from using sorcery themselves, Zionists are not equipped to react in a destructive manner. Instead, their action is defensive and protective and it deploys a power derived from Christian belief ..." (ibid. 236). One becomes a Zionist in order to gain some control over one's own life and circumstances (ibid:217).

Indigenous Churches according to Cumpsty (1991:365-6) can be seen to have two "parent traditions". "They can equally well be understood as expressions of traditional African religion as they can of the Christian Tradition" (ibid). There are two possible explanations for what takes place in the indigenous churches. One is that it is a form of containment. The other is that it involves mediation and possibly the formation of a mediating tradition (what Cumpsty refers to as "bridging tradition"). This means

holding together incompatible paradigmatic symbols in a manner which manipulates the world-out-there so as to provide a unified sense of reality and integrated identity.

As my focus is on people in rural Transkei with a traditional African background and ways they renegotiate identity in the face of social change and competing worldviews, I will consider the Zionist Indigenous Church movement popular in rural Transkei in this broad conceptual scheme.

It would appear from Pretorius' description of Zionism in the Transkei in his book, Sound the Trumpet of Zion (1985), that Zionism in this rural area is manifest in a similar manner to West (1975) and Kiernan (1990) have described.

There may be similarities between rural and urban Zionism at the level of ritual practice, general beliefs, dress etc., however, this is not necessarily the case at a socio-psychological level. Kiernan (1990:35) echoes this with respect to the possible social function of Zionism in the two contexts. He mentions that "...from a sociological point of view, it is not unlikely that urban and rural Zionism are different as chalk and cheese in that they may fulfill essentially different social functions" (ibid).

The socio-cultural environment in rural Transkei is in many ways different from the urban context referred to earlier. The history of Western cultural encroachment in this indigenous context was gradual, and the socio-cultural change was not rapid. Furthermore, Pauw (1975:303), Mayer (1980:32) and Pretorius (1985:8) link the growth of Zionism to the decline and disintegration of the "Red" ideology, spoken of earlier, and the attraction of Zionist-type churches to "Red" people in the Transkei⁵¹.

⁵¹. It is noted by Pauw (1975:49) that a substantial proportion of those joining the African Independent churches were "Red" people. Mayer (1980:32) supports this observation by stating that "School" people in the Transkei and Ciskei region viewed emotionalism of Zionist Churches as possibly good enough for "Red" converts but not fit for "School" people. Church and "School" people were critical of Zionists because of what they perceived to be their deviant beliefs and behaviour. (Pauw, 1975:303) Pretorius (1985:8) suggests that "fairly direct connections can be found between last ditched defences of traditional society and the appearances of tendencies toward Zionism". Unfortunately, he fails to expand on this.

It is possible that Zionism in such rural environment functions initially as a containment strategy. In the course of time, as elements of Modern Rational Material culture increase, the adherents begin to experience a situation of competing worldviews and Zionism may mediate between the contradictions of its context as opposed to encapsulating the incompatible elements.

In general it would appear that in any multiple worldview situation where insecurity has been experienced, as in the indigenous responses to incoming traditions, one would expect to find : i.) elements that belong to logically coherent symbol systems which are incompatible in relation to the other systems and ii.) bridging/mediating elements.

The above possible ways of meaningfully holding together incompatible paradigmatic sets of symbols must be explored in the particular context of the Children's home.

Worldview "Options" for the Youth in the Home

The youth, in this study, has experienced rapid socio-cultural change. The Homestead Centred Worldview no longer provides a felt sense of reality (at a more conscious level it no longer adequately gives meaning to his experience of the world out there) as it does not correspond with his experience of reality. Modern Rational Material culture diffused into rural modes of thought and action makes sense of aspects of the youth's experience, but it does not correspond with and give meaning to his total life experience. Western Christian symbols and values presented in the Home offer an idealistic worldview. Western Christian worldview does not reflect the complex nature of competing worldviews and discounts traditional African elements in the worldview of the youth. In the above discribed situation of competing worldviews the reorientation of the youths along Western Christian lines effectively alienates them from themselves.

A worldview which mediates between Homestead Centred and Modern Rational Material and/or Christian paradigmatic symbols would be an appropriate strategy for

some of the youths. It need not, however, be a Zionist worldview. Hodgson (in RSA, vol.4, no.1), for example, shows how the faith-healer of Cancele in the Transkei, Ma-Rhadebe, serves as a mediating/bridging symbol. A mediating/bridging symbol which centres on the ritual activities of charismatic person such as Ma-Rhadebe meaningfully holds two traditions together. The adherents by relating to this ritual figure link into the two traditions.

I have focused on a particular situation of **competing worldviews**. In due course, however, many of the youths in the Home will assimilate Modern Rational Material culture as the demand for economic survival increasingly dominates their life experience. The Homestead Centred Worldview will, in all likelihood, be marginalised and what is presently a situation competing worldviews will give way to the dominance of Modern Rational Material worldview.

How do people remain culturally rooted in a changing society? How can these youths avoid being self-alienated as their African cultural identity is marginalised? Modern Rational Material culture is, in a South African context, defined by the mass media, the workplace and other socializing agencies in terms of Liberal Capitalism. Is there a way of neutralising destructive elements, such as the ideology of individualism, found in Liberal Capitalism.

Wilson and Ramphele (1989:269f) suggest the rediscovery of the value of indigenous cultural roots and history. They argue that the African value of "ubuntu"⁵² needs to be elevated to a societal value to permeate human relations and the culture of the market place.

⁵². Although not readily translatable into any European language, it shares much common ground with many religious and humanistic movements around the world and many of the articles of the Freedom Charter affirm this value. (Wilson and Ramphele, 1975:269)

This can be seen as the reclaiming of an African cultural symbol in a Modern Rational Material worldview. The value of African cultural roots and history is re-instated in identity make-up whilst the individual remains orientated by a Modern Rational Material worldview.

Another example of reclaiming African symbols in the renegotiation of identity in contemporary society, involves those who prioritize being a Christian in their identity make-up. Black theology, simultaneously, asserts and affirms "christian", "black" and "oppressed" as identity significant aggregations. It is realistic strategy to give meaning to the world-out-there⁵³.

⁵³. In a white politically and economically dominated society Western Christianity is false consciousness and self-alienating for a black person as it denies his/her social existence and solidarity with other black and oppressed people. It is also dehumanising and disempowering for it denies the value of indigenous cultural roots and history. In this respect it is a stumbling block to authentic human development.

POST-SCRIPT

This study is concerned with the **general problem** of prioritizing both socio-personal and economic development, in social engineering, where economic development tends to contradict the value of an African traditional cultural identity.

The twin articulation of economic and identity needs by ordinary rural people is linked to what Cumpsty (1991) argues are basic human drives for physical survival, and identity. In a situation of competing worldviews this becomes problematic. Underlying economic development, irrespective of whether it is modelled on liberal bourgeois or Marxian theory, is a Modern Rational Material culture. This is in tension with Traditional African cultural symbols and values. Some people experience contradictory socio-cultural value systems and draw on conflicting worldviews out of the need for economic survival in an increasingly industrialized society, associated with Modern Rational Material culture and, simultaneous, retaining an identity which prioritizes traditional culture. The worldviews are competing as neither one is marginalised. This is particularly apparent in rural Transkei. In such a situation of competing worldviews the fragmentary effect on identity tends towards anomie, unless identity is renegotiated with some form of mediation between contradictory paradigmatic symbols which can ensure an integrated identity.

Thus, I argue that ...

social and economic development, in a situation of competing worldviews, depends on the mediation of conflicting symbols in a manner which is not inconsistent with the economic imperatives.

The role of the interventionist be he/she a teacher, development planner, agricultural extension officer, political organizer, community/social worker, or pastor is of interest to me. The responsible interventionist can contribute to rural development and the empowerment of people who experience a situation of competing worldviews. They can facilitate the process of renegotiating identity and mediating between the contradictory elements to ensure an integrated identity, necessary for Human Development to take place. This can only be achieved, however, if there is an awareness of the problem and how it can be meaningfully addressed.

I examine the general problem with special reference to ex-street children in a Children's Home in rural Transkei who are to be reintegrated into society.

Attention has primarily been given to describing and understanding the problem, and generating an instrument to map worldviews and values of people in the target group⁵⁴. Some attention has also been given to strategies people in rural Transkei have adopted in overcoming the predicament. I indicate that there are different strategies appropriate to different socio-cultural experiences.

As this is a preliminary study it is appropriate to end with some indication as to where we go from here.

Where to from here?

I have looked at the mediation of needs and processes of mediation. A next step will be to go into the field and physically follow the youths around in order to know which aggregations are identity significant. Not all social groupings significant in identity are, however, physically accessible. People have, for example, a range of aspirant social groupings. These aggregation's values are also adopted. Successive, refined

⁵⁴. I chose to emphasize this for two reasons. Firstly, the topic is rather complex and problematizing the subject is carefully is vital if later research is to have clear direction. Secondly, the study is limited by the requirements laid down for a mini-thesis and in view of the larger-scale project to be undertaken this study's preparatory nature is most suitable. It is, however, able to stand on its own as a study.

questionnaires will, in part, be aimed at locating such aggregations. Questions such as "What would you like to be?", "Who would you like to be?" and "What would you like to do?" capture the hopes of the youths and reflect their values. Other questions focusing on the youth's future plans, and where he sees himself in years to come will not only reveal his projected values but also indicate the level of present goal orientation.

The difficult task of locating the aggregations significant in the youth's identity still does not tell one anything about the intensity of belonging to the aggregation. Future questions will need to be designed in conjunction with appropriate theoretical tools to solicit this information.

Determining, more specifically, the worldview of relevant aggregation communities will further contribute to the individual worldview mapping.

In future questionnaires the variables will need to include the more specific ones set out in section 8 so as to map the worldviews and values of the youths more accurately, and identify strategies and mechanisms they may have adopted in the quest for integrated identity. I am interested in knowing whether their identities are fragmented and they live schizophrenic lives, or whether they have got to the point of allocation, containment or mediation.

Once the measuring instrument is sufficiently refined I will be ready to survey bigger target groups such as those who attend the Zionist Churches of the Transkei bi-annual conferences. The role of organic intellectuals, such as the Mennonite Central Committee bible teachers and Transkei Council of Churches fieldworkers who have worked with the Zionist Churches' leadership since the early 1980's, will also be worth investigating.

The (potential) role of the interventionist as facilitator of the process of identity renegotiation, and the ethical implications thereof, is a parallel issue which also requires further consideration.

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